DECEMBER 1990

THE SHOCKING TRUTH ABOUT COCAINE

$2.95 CAN $3.50

reason

FREE MINDS & FREE MARKETS

SPECIAL BOOK ISSUE

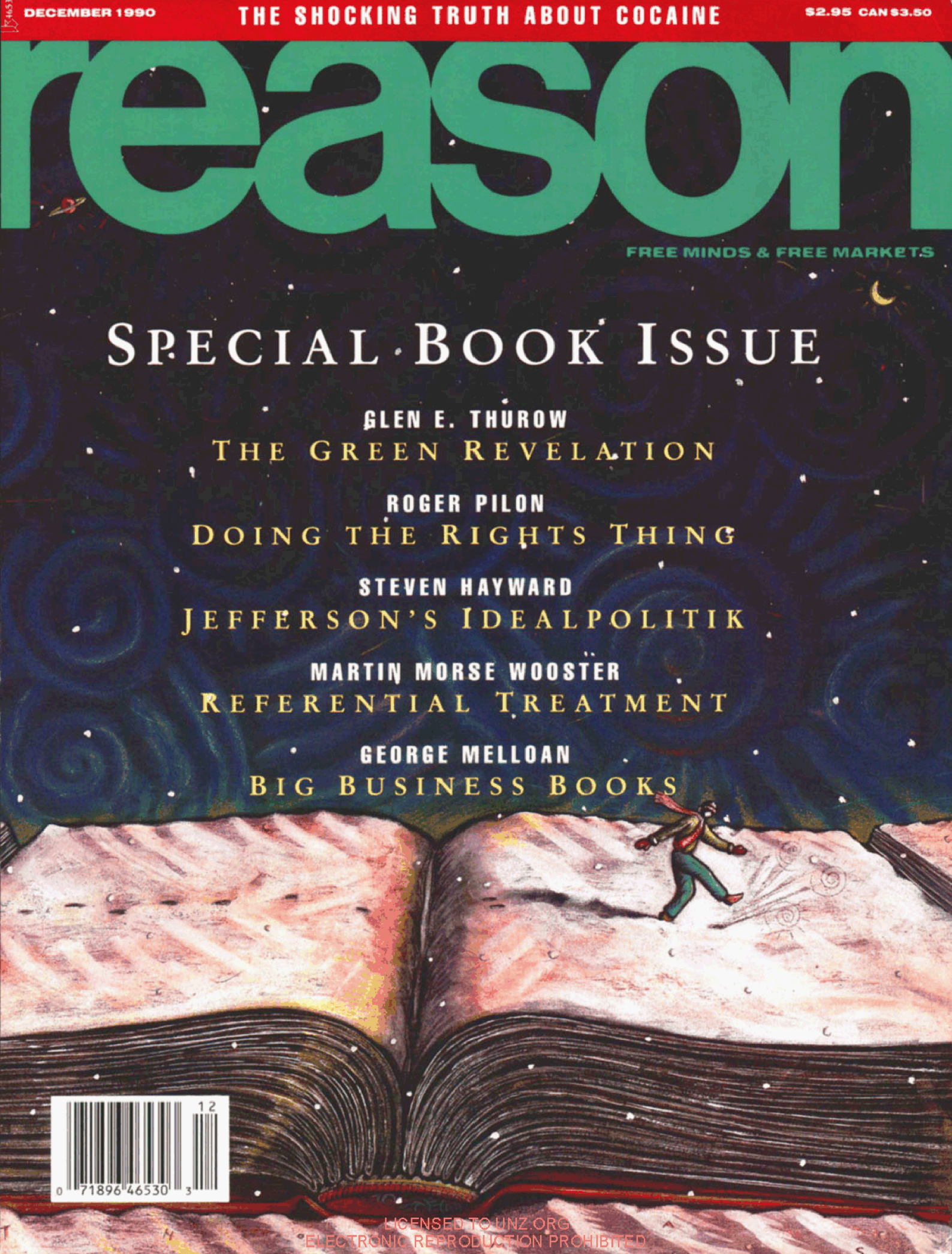
GLEN E. THUROW
THE GREEN REVELATION

ROGER PILON
DOING THE RIGHTS THING

STEVEN HAYWARD
JEFFERSON'S IDEALPOLITIK

MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER
REFERENTIAL TREATMENT

GEORGE MELLOAN
BIG BUSINESS BOOKS



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Check It Out!

You'll find many familiar brand names in this shopping cart. A lot of them probably appear in your own cart at the supermarket each week. But it may surprise you to learn that all of these products and even more are brought to you by the same family of companies. Philip Morris markets high-quality consumer products under more than 365 brand names, operates plants in over 350 U.S. cities and creates jobs for more than 157,000 people worldwide.

Familiar names from the Philip Morris family, committed to the production of quality products while generating economic growth.

PHILIP MORRIS
COMPANIES INC.

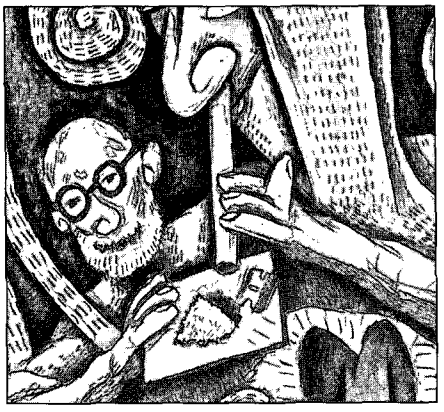
reason

Free Minds and Free Markets

December 1990/Vol. 22, No. 7

FEATURES

22
Pruning the Plan
William D. Eggers
Planners in Fort Collins, Colorado, have taken a big step away from zoning and toward the market.



29
Snow Job
Bruce Alexander
Drug warriors say: "Facts? We don't need no stinking *facts*!"

EDITORIALS

4
Calling Names
Virginia I. Postrel
The ad hominem phenomenon.

6
Budget Baloney
Charles Oliver
The depths of summitry.

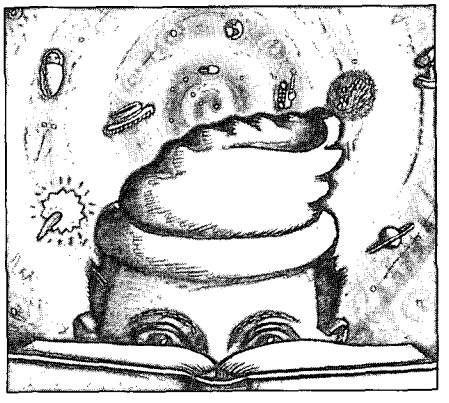
8
Big Mother
Jacob Sullum
Who's minding the kids?

SPECIAL BOOK SECTION

35
New Gods or Old Idols?
Glen E. Thurow
Before the greens can get what they want, they have to overturn Western civilization.

39
Constitutional Visions
Roger Pilon
While the courts weather attacks from both the left and the right, the individual is the ultimate victim.

41
The First Innocent Abroad
Steven Hayward
Revisionist thinkers question Thomas Jefferson's reputation as America's premier noninterventionist.



44
Searching for Serendipity
Martin Morse Wooster
Want to know 2,231 synonyms for *drunk*? Look 'em up.

46
Business Without Borders
George Melloan
Three authors concoct an excellent tonic for industrial policy disease.

COLUMNS

50
Washington: Wooly Bullies
Jeff Taylor
Attempted trade sabotage.

52
The Law: Obscene Debate
Charles Oliver
Small-town prosecutors become a big-time pain.

54
Magazines: In the Pink?
Martin Morse Wooster
The Cold War is over. Capitalism won...maybe.

56
Nepal: Comes a Revolution
Michael Konik
Hope for democracy.

58
Selected Skirmishes: The Technology of Hypocrisy
Thomas W. Hazlett
Disinvestment 101.

DEPARTMENTS

10
Letters

16
Trends

20
Brickbats

Cover illustration by Troy Thomas

REASON (ISSN 0048-6906) is published monthly except combined August-September issue by the Reason Foundation, a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405. Second-class postage paid at Santa Monica, CA, and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to REASON, P.O. Box 526, Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

Copyright © 1990 by Reason Foundation. All rights reserved. Reproduction or use, without permission, of editorial or graphic content is prohibited. REASON is a registered trademark owned by the Reason Foundation.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: $24 per year. Outside U.S. add $8/year surface, $36/year airmail. Address all subscription correspondence to REASON, P.O. Box 526, Mt. Morris, IL 61054, 815/734-6309. For address change (allow six weeks), provide old address and new address, including zip code. **UNSOLICITED MANUSCRIPTS** returned only if accompanied by SASE. **INDEXED** in InfoTrac, Historical Abstracts, Political Science Abstracts, America: History and Life, and PAIS Bulletin. Available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Dept. P.R., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

CALLING NAMES

VIRGINIA I. POSTREL

When politicians go into their mud-wrestling acts, editorialists tsk-tsk and voters yawn. Everybody knows it'll all be over come election day.

Politicans can be excused. Pundits cannot. If you're supposedly engaged in a sustained and serious debate about ideas and policies, then ad hominem attacks serve a different purpose: not to beat your opponent but to shut him up. And right now, a lot of people seem determined to insult their adversaries into submission.

The flashiest example—though probably the most fleeting—is the flap over Pat Buchanan and the Persian Gulf. Long before Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, Buchanan was arguing that the United States should return to an "America First" policy that eschewed foreign interventions.

It should have come as no surprise, then, that Buchanan took a skeptical position toward military action against Saddam (although he supported the economic blockade). Nor is it terribly surprising that Buchanan found himself in the minority. Americans, including policy intellectuals, tend to have a visceral reaction to expansionist tyrants who invade strategically situated little countries: They want to kick them out. Second thoughts may prevail, but that's the initial gut reaction.

On a more cerebral level, some proponents of intervention argue that the United States must adopt a globalist policy analogous to that of the British empire. Buchanan attacked this view in a column, arguing, "As Great Britain recedes today into a lesser province of a new socialist Europe run from Brussels and Strasbourg, what is it that so commends the foreign policy that brought them there?"

The column ran. Washington remained unmoved. So Buchanan tried a more provocative approach.

On "The McLaughlin Group," he declared, "There are only two groups that are beating the drums for war in the Middle East—the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen corner in the United States."

The statement was both false and stupid. It was a rhetorical bully's attempt to shut up his opponents by declaring them unpatriotic tools of a foreign power. And it transformed a serious debate into a brawl.

Now the debate isn't over whether the United States should pursue an interventionist foreign policy. It's over whether Pat Buchanan is an anti-Semite.

Unfortunately, ad hominem attacks don't always backfire. If Buchanan had only argued that "there are only two groups that are beating the drums for free trade—the Japanese and their amen corner in the United States," *The New Republic* would have given him a cover story instead of attacking him.

Earlier this year, *TNR* did feature just such a cover story. In a nutshell, writer John Judis argued that everyone who supports free trade is a tool of the Japanese, often a paid one. The article was the talk of Washington, a major coup for new *TNR* Editor Hendrik Hertzberg.

Now a book making the same argument at greater length, *Agents of Influence* by Pat Choate, is having a more-sustained impact. Choate writes ominously of how the monolithic Japan Lobby (yes, the *L* is capitalized) conspires to pressure the U.S. government to reduce tariffs and abstain from retaliatory protectionism.

Choate demonstrates that Japanese businesses spend a lot of money and energy on U.S. lobbying and public relations. He doesn't prove that this effort has had any deleterious effects, that U.S. defenders of free trade are corrupt, or that free trade is a bad idea.

In fact, he admits, "Almost without exception, Japanese contributions support the work of those who advocate neoclassical laissez-faire trade policies. These views are genuinely held; the Americans who argue for this approach would make the same arguments with or without Japanese financial assistance."

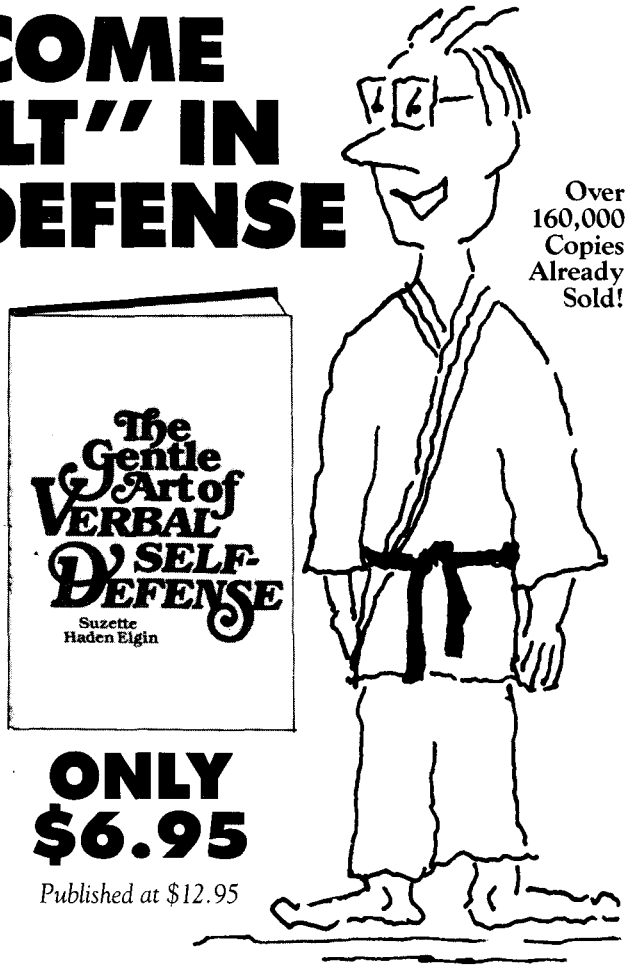
Having conceded that Japanese money doesn't change scholars' views, Choate then implies the opposite: "Since ties to and support from Japan are often obscured or left unreported, the question of objectivity goes unasked." But most arguments for free trade appeal to facts or reason, which can be evaluated regardless of their source's objectivity.

Choate's smoking gun is a lobbying effort by Japanese automakers to get light trucks reclassified as cars to cut their tariff from 25 percent to 2.5 percent. The Big Three automakers "in a rare show of political unity" opposed the change. It was America vs. Godzilla, and Godzilla won.

But so did America. For all practical purposes, a pickup truck really is a passenger car. In fact, it is the "car" most commonly owned by Americans. And those truck buyers are just as American as Ford, GM, and Chrysler.

Still, Choate's smear campaign is working. Writers who support free trade, who suggest that American companies can compete with Japanese companies without government help, who advocate any policy line other than "What's good for General Motors—or bad for Honda—is good for the country" are on the defensive. Editors expect them to reveal any Japanese ties, while not asking for similar disclosure from their opponents.

HOW TO BECOME A "BLACK BELT" IN VERBAL SELF-DEFENSE



Over 160,000 Copies Already Sold!

For anyone who's ever been pulverized by put-downs, rankled by reproaches, or irritated by insinuations, here's a revolutionary book that devotes itself *completely* to tactics of verbal self-defense. *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* teaches you how to defend yourself diplomatically in delicate family situations and in the hard-nosed business world. And this book is so thorough and easy-to-understand that you can read it once and become the kind of person everybody admires—the person who stays unruffled during confrontations, who always says the right thing, and who enjoys good relations with everyone.

Stop Them with a Few Words

This book explains the various ways that people will try to bait you and then it tells you how to *stop* them with a few carefully chosen words. And it shows you how and when to use blunt honesty, agreement, humor, flattery, and distraction.

Keep Cool During Arguments

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense also helps you avoid the self-defeating attitudes that many people assume during arguments. Once you've read this book, you'll *never* again lose an argument by being sullen, uncontrollably angry, peevishly defensive, or apologetic. You'll have gained enough savvy not to be thrown by hostile remarks.

Learn to Handle *All* Attacks

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense covers all the types of verbal attacks and attackers you're likely to encounter. And it explains both attacks and defenses with helpful features like these:

- The 8 Types of Verbal Attacks (and how to fight them)
- The 4 Principles of Verbal Self-Defense
- The 5 Personalities & How They Communicate
- Dialogues that Show Defense Strategies
- Instructions on Voice Control & Body Language

These features will teach you to deal with all types of people, including bullying bosses, guilt-producing mothers, and many others. And you'll discover how to counter *all* the varieties of verbal abuse—from subtle put-downs to out-and-out attacks.

Save Yourself Years of Mistakes

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense gives you an education that will improve the quality of all your personal and professional relationships. On your own, it might take you years of trial and error, of fights and misunderstandings, to learn all the lessons of this book. So, why not wise up *now* by ordering your copy of the book today?

ONLY $6.95

Published at $12.95

About the Author

Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals.

Barnes & Noble Unconditional Guarantee
You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us, for a full refund.

BARNES & NOBLE
Booksellers Since 1873

126 FIFTH AVENUE, DEPT. V376 . NEW YORK, NY 10011

1295690. Please rush me _____ copies of The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense at your special sale price of $6.95 (plus $1.00 per book for shipping and insurance). Please add applicable sales tax for deliveries to CT, MA, MN, NJ, NY, PA, & CA (6%).

Name_____

Address_____ Apt.#____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

AVAILABLE BY MAIL ONLY

In part, this is because Choate's audience already believes that Japanese money is inherently tainted. And respectable editors don't want to be caught publishing tainted articles. The ad hominem attack works because many people grant its emotional premise—that Japanese companies are evil.

Why the outburst of ad hominem attacks? Partly, it's the natural desire to blame political losses on big, powerful, hidden conspiracies. Choate wants more tariffs. The Big Three want more tariffs. But somehow we don't get more tariffs. It must be the Japan Lobby.

Partly, the ad hominem attack is a substitute for talking about principle. It's a handy tool both for those, like Buchanan, who have principles but can't sell them and for those, like Choate, whose principles are well hidden.

Consider the most successful and sustained ad hominem attack in recent American politics: the environmental movement's discrediting of anyone who has any tie to any company that makes chemicals, produces oil, manufactures automobiles, or otherwise contributes to industrial society.

Unlike the Japanese or the Jews, chemical and oil companies have few defenders. That's why supporters of California's "Big Green" initiative remind voters on every occasion that the "oil and chemical industries" are paying for the campaign against the initiative.

When they exclude these industries from political debate, the greens reflect their own ideological agenda and goals. "It is a spiritual act to try to shut down DuPont," says Rainforest Action Network Director Randall Hayes. And it is a political act to try to shut up DuPont.

If the greens can shame their opponents into silence, no one will challenge their agenda. They can play "trust me." And, given a trusting public and shame-filled adversaries, they can win.

It's not a cheerful picture, but it's the truth. The first step toward stopping political bullies is not to be ashamed.

BUDGET BALONEY

CHARLES OLIVER

Regardless of how the latest federal budget dispute turns out or what the details of the final package are, the Republicans have lost the battle. They lost because they threw down their weapons.

During the latest debate every Republican of any stature conceded the Democrats' basic premise: Big government is good. From President George Bush to Rep. Newt Gingrich (Ga.), the Republicans just react to Democratic proposals—scaling them back, quibbling about details, but accepting the notion that government should act to solve a host of perceived social problems.

The battle between Bush and Gingrich wasn't one of ideology, but one of political expediency: Should the Republicans give the Democrats a lot or just a little?

President Bush must shoulder much of the blame for the GOP's malaise. As Heritage Foundation analyst Daniel J. Mitchell noted in our November issue, "On almost every issue, from the minimum wage to child care, from disability legislation to taxes, from the environment to racial quotas, the White House has conceded the fundamental argument over whether the government solves problems or causes them."

For the last two years, the pattern has been the same. Democrats propose a massive new spending or regulatory program. Then Bush sits down with congressional leaders, wins a few minor exemptions, and signs the "compromise" into law.

But this time Bush went too far. In his zeal to win a budget compromise, he reneged on his one campaign promise: He agreed to raise taxes.

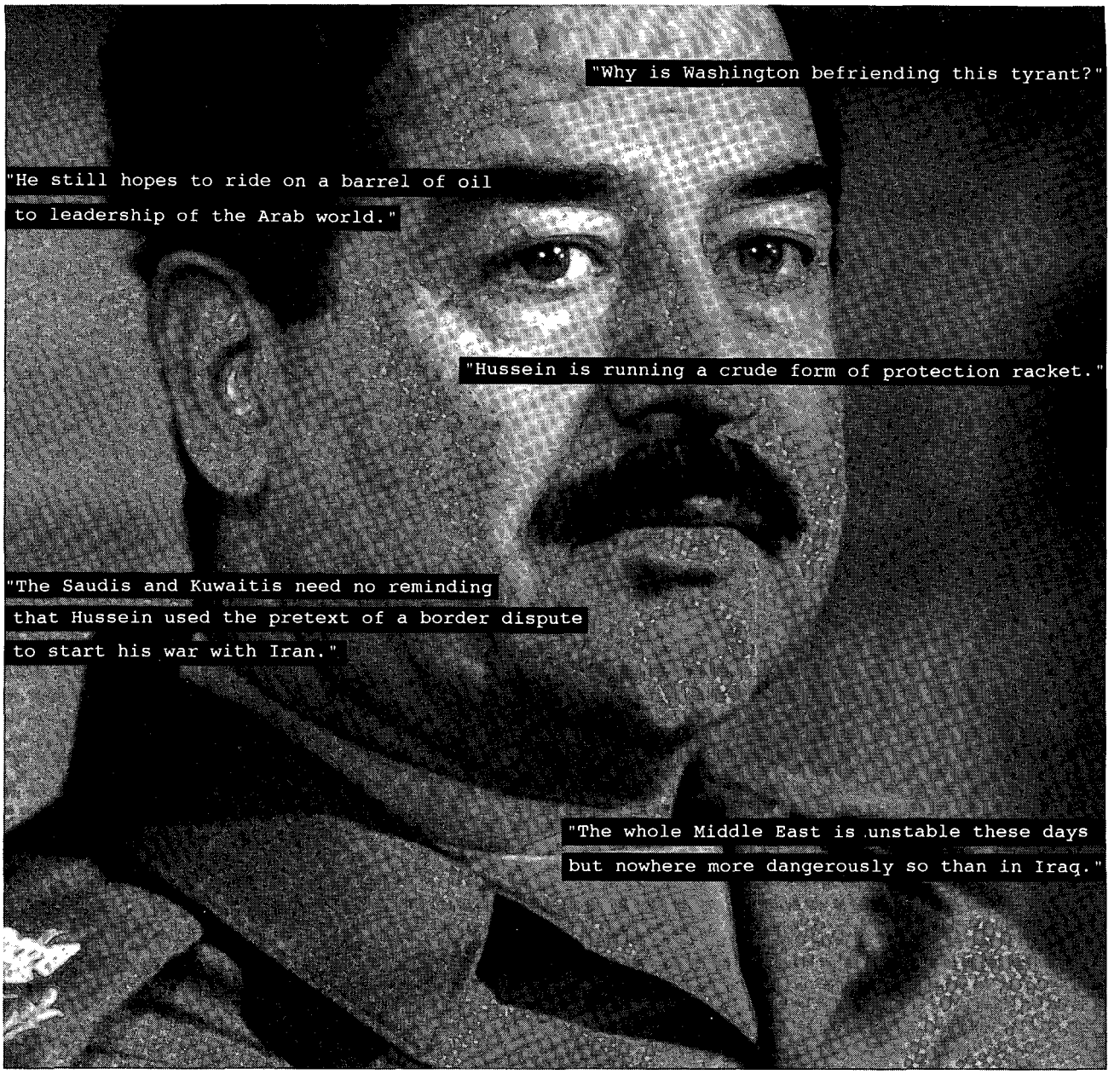
House Minority Whip Gingrich stormed out of the budget summit and led a successful fight in the House against the summit agreement. But their speeches and TV interviews make it clear that Gingrich and his allies had no principled objection to big government. They just realized that it was politically foolish to vote for tax hikes and Medicare cuts.

The federal budget is over $1.2 trillion. If Gramm-Rudman-Hollings had been allowed to work, spending would have dropped $85.4 billion, or 7 percent. There is probably no business or household in the United States that could not cut its spending by 7 percent. And there is surely more fat in the federal government than in the typical household or business budget. But no one—not Gingrich, not even Gramm-Rudman co-author Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.)—questioned Bush's assertion that Gramm-Rudman cuts would be disastrous.

As a group, Republicans don't want to eliminate any federal program. A proposal by Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill.) to shut down the National Endowment for the Arts, for example, got almost no support. Republicans would rather redirect the NEA to fund "profamily," or at least non-obscene, artwork.

Gingrich himself has long advocated using an activist government for "conservative" ends. His own alternative to the budget-summit agreement involved raising taxes somewhat less and switching some Medicare cuts to other programs. Gingrich likes big government as much as the next Washington insider; he just doesn't want to pay for it.

With the Republicans conceding the basic issue, the Democrats can dictate domestic policy. If they can out-compromise Bush, the Democrats can also outmaneuver Gingrich. If the Republicans offer a new federal program, the Democrats can insist on a better, i.e., more expensive, one. And when the Democrats demand new spending, Gingrich can offer no principled objection. As the budget brouhaha has demonstrated, any future conflicts between or within the two parties will be about electoral politics or personal animosity, not ideas.


"Why is Washington befriending this tyrant?"
"He still hopes to ride on a barrel of oil to leadership of the Arab world."
"Hussein is running a crude form of protection racket."
"The Saudis and Kuwaitis need no reminding that Hussein used the pretext of a border dispute to start his war with Iran."
"The whole Middle East is unstable these days but nowhere more dangerously so than in Iraq."

Forbes attacked Saddam Hussein last December.

Last year, when Washington was trying to befriend the Iraqi dictator, Forbes saw him as a dangerous foe. One whose power comes from the barrel of a pistol. And as we reported in our December '89 article, this power, backed by a battle-hardened, million-man army posed a real threat to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Our assessment of Hussein was right on target. In fact, we called Washington's tilt toward Iraq "one of the least sensible twists in U.S. foreign policy." What were the decision-makers thinking of then? And what were they thinking of in 1980 when, just weeks before he attacked Iran, we warned that the "most brutally repressive ruler in recent history" was suffering from delusions of grandeur?

Forbes not only reports events, we anticipate them. With tough, insightful reporting. That's what lies at the heart—or more precisely, the guts—of every Forbes story.

In fact, in survey after survey, top executives say Forbes' gutsy reporting gives them better information than either Business Week or Fortune. What's more, it's the most efficient way to reach them.

No guts. No story.

So if you really want your ads to make an impact, run them in the magazine that reveals history before it even unfolds. Forbes.

Forbes
Capitalist Tool®
Forbes Magazine-60 Fifth Ave. N.Y. NY 10011

POLICY ANALYST

The Reason Foundation is seeking a policy analyst. Reporting to the Research Director, the analyst will undertake original research as well as review and edit work commissioned by the Foundation.

A sound understanding of free-market economics is essential. A background in environmental, privatization, land-use, or infrastructure policy is desirable. A master's degree in economics, political science, or public policy is preferred.

Qualified applicants should direct written inquiries, including résumés, to:

Lynn Scarlett
Reason Foundation
2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062
Santa Monica, CA 90405

INTERNS WANTED

REASON has openings for up to three part-time, volunteer interns. Send resume and writing samples to Virginia Postrel, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405.

U.S. Postal Service

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1A. Title of Publication	1B. PUBLICATION NO.	2. Date of Filing
REASON	0 0 4 8 6 9 0 6	30 Sep. '90
3. Frequency of Issue	3A. No. of Issues Published Annually	3B. Annual Subscription Price
Monthly, except combined Aug/Sep issue	11	$24.00

4. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication (Street, City, County, State and ZIP+4 Code) (Not printers)
REASON FOUNDATION
2716 Ocean Park Blvd, Ste 1062, Santa Monica, Los Angeles County, CA 90405

5. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters of General Business Offices of the Publisher (Not printer)
REASON FOUNDATION
2716 Ocean Park Blvd,Ste 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405

6. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (This item MUST NOT be blank)
Publisher (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
Robert W. Poole, Jr.
2716 Ocean Park Blvd, Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405
Editor (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
Virginia I. Postrel
2716 Ocean Parkblvd, Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405
Managing Editor (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
Eric R. Gill
2716 Ocean Park Blvd, Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405

7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given. If the publication is published by a nonprofit organization, its name and address must be stated.) (Item must be completed.)

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
REASON FOUNDATION (a non-profit corporation)	2716 Ocean Park Blvd, Suite 1062 Santa Monica, CA 90405

8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities (If there are none, so state.)

Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
none	

9. For Completion by Nonprofit Organizations Authorized To Mail at Special Rates (DMM Section 423.12 only)
The purpose, function, and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes (Check one)
(1) ☒ Has Not Changed During Preceding 12 Months (2) ☐ Has Changed During Preceding 12 Months (If changed, publisher must submit explanation of change with this statement.)

10. Extent and Nature of Circulation (See instructions on reverse side)	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total No. Copies (Net Press Run)	49,638	57,984
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	1,625	1,464
2. Mail Subscription (Paid and/or requested)	35,667	44,025
C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	37,292	45,489
D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free Copies	3,810	3,740
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	41,102	49,229
F. Copies Not Distributed 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	1,087	1,199
2. Return from News Agents	7,449	7,556
G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	49,638	57,984

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager, or Owner: Robert W. Poole, Jr., Publisher

PS Form 3526, Feb 1989 (See instructions on reverse)

EDITORIALS

BIG MOTHER

JACOB SULLUM

The children's television bill that Congress approved in October made me think of lawn darts. A while back, "60 Minutes" ran a story about a man whose son had been killed in a lawn-dart accident. The tragedy moved him to begin a nationwide crusade against the game. At the very least, he argued, the government should require manufacturers to label the equipment with a clear warning of its dangers.

His implicit assumption—that parents need the state to tell them that tossing long, sharp, metal objects can be hazardous to children—was a striking example of the extent to which government regulation has encouraged the abdication of parental responsibility. These days the news is filled with such examples, from the hullabaloo about mandatory record labels to the lawsuits in which parents try to pin their children's suicides on Judas Priest or Ozzy Osbourne.

Ever quick to pick up on a trend, Congress now wants to limit commercials on children's television shows and require broadcasters to provide educational programming for kids as a condition for keeping their licenses. "It's an issue of choice," explains Peggy Charren, president of Action for Children's Television. "For the parents who do not want their children to see violent cartoons or Looney Tunes, there should be a choice."

There is. It's called *changing the channel*, or, alternatively, *turning off the set*—or even *not buying one to begin with*. (A VCR adds further choices.) For parents who have come to depend on television as an easy way of keeping their kids occupied while they attend to other matters, these may not seem like realistic options. But that's because they have already implicitly decided that, whatever damage Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles may do to their children, it's outweighed by the inconvenience and conflict that might ensue from trying to exercise control over their kids' viewing habits.

"We all know that televisions are on for six or seven hours every day in almost every household in the United States," says Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.), as if this were an immutable fact, as if parents were helpless against the invasion of electronic signals carrying mindless entertainment and stirring up evil consumerist impulses.

While some people look to government to help raise their children because they (understandably) feel overwhelmed by the plethora of negative influences confronting them, others feel up to the task but nevertheless want the government to save *the neighbors'* kids from the perils of incompetent parenting. This desire to meddle is part of the motivation behind the restrictions on children's television. It is even clearer in Memphis, Tennessee, where a new ordinance not only forbids promoters, performers, and venue owners from exposing minors to concerts that include "harmful material" but also prohibits parents from allowing their children to attend such concerts.

The ordinance, which has been challenged in federal court, defines *harmful material* so broadly that the term might cover a host of things—from Elvis Presley's pelvic thrusts to the suggestive lyrics of various pop songs—that many parents would not consider a threat to their children's mental health or proper upbringing. Which is precisely the point—both of the law and of the objections to it.

Supporters of the ordinance compare letting kids attend a heavy-metal concert to beating or neglecting them. But unlike actions that physically harm a child, the very existence of such "moral abuse" is a matter of opinion. In a free society, it is the parent's opinion that must prevail.

"The finest firsthand picture of American pioneer life ever written for children."

—*San Francisco Chronicle*

Yours FREE!
LITTLE HOUSE IN THE BIG WOODS
LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PRAIRIE
FARMER BOY
ON THE BANKS OF PLUM CREEK
BY THE SHORES OF SILVER LAKE
THE LONG WINTER
LITTLE TOWN ON THE PRAIRIE
THESE HAPPY GOLDEN YEARS
THE FIRST FOUR YEARS

The LITTLE HOUSE Stories

by Laura Ingalls Wilder

Retail $29.95 • 9 quality paperbacks in handsome illustrated slipcase

Beloved by children for generations, these books portray an America where family, hard work and traditional values were taken for granted. Each volume includes Garth Williams' charming illustrations that first appeared in the 1953 editions. Every volume in the series is here, including *The First Four Years*, first published in 1971:

Little House in the Big Woods ★ Little House on the Prairie ★ Farmer Boy ★ On the Banks of Plum Creek ★ By the Shores of Silver Lake ★ The Long Winter ★ Little Town on the Prairie ★ These Happy Golden Years ★ The First Four Years

Show Your Children a Better America

"One of the phenomenal achievements in modern literature for children, a genuine chronicle of American life and of family life at their equal best. Through these books Laura Ingalls of the 1870's and '80's has stepped from the pages of the past into the flesh and blood reality of a chosen friend."—*The Horn Book*

"Any boy or girl who has access to all the books in the series will be the richer for their firsthand record of pioneer life in the opening West and for their warm-hearted human values."—*New Yorker*

"It is a matter of great satisfaction and a cause for gratitude that we can turn to such a group of stories as those of Mrs. Wilder. They ring true in every particular. Their authentic background, sensitive characterization, their fine integrity and spirit of sturdy independence, make them an invaluable addition to our list of genuine American stories."—*New York Times*

How to get this 9-volume $29.95 set FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing, it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 OAKLAND AVENUE • HARRISON, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send, FREE and postpaid, the *Little House* set by Laura Ingalls Wilder — all 9 volumes in the $29.95 slipcased set. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club price over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon. **R-90**

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

REASON

Publisher Robert W. Poole, Jr.
Editor Virginia I. Postrel

Assistant Editors Charles Oliver, Jacob Sullum
Asst. Managing Editor Rick Henderson
Washington Editor Martin Morse Wooster
Art Director Andrea Reibsamen
Production Editor Eric K. Gill
Book Review Editor Lynn Scarlett
Editorial Assistant Mary Toledo

Associate Publisher Bryan E. Snyder
Circulation Director Steve Willard
Public Affairs Director Kevin D. Teasley
Advertising Manager David Meleney

Contributing Editors
Doug Bandow, Tom Bethell, James Bovard, David Brudnoy, Steven Hayward, Thomas W. Hazlett, David R. Henderson, T. A. Heppenheimer, John Hood, Loren Lomasky, Michael McMenamin, Steven W. Mosher, Peter Samuel, Thomas Szasz, William Tucker, Paul H. Weaver, Walter E. Williams, Karl Zinsmeister

Editorial, Advertising, and Production Offices
2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062
Santa Monica, CA 90405
(213) 392-0443

Washington Office
P.O. Box 8093
Silver Spring, MD 20907
(301) 565-7820

Circulation Service
P.O. Box 526
Mt. Morris, IL 61054
(815) 734-6309

Founding Editors:
Manuel S. Klausner, Tibor R. Machan, Robert W. Poole, Jr.

REASON is published by the Reason Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit educational foundation engaged in public-policy research. Contributions to the Reason Foundation are tax-deductible. Signed articles in REASON reflect the views of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the editors, the Reason Foundation, or its trustees. For further information, contact the public affairs director.

Reason Foundation

Trustees: Bernard Baltic, Frank Bond, Joseph E. Coberly, Joseph H. Coulombe, Robert W. Poole, Jr., Tony Jackson, Norman Karlin, Manuel S. Klausner, David H. Koch, Robert W. Smiley, Jr.

President: Robert W. Poole, Jr.
Senior Vice President: Bryan E. Snyder
Vice President, Research: Lynn Scarlett
Director of Public Affairs: Kevin D. Teasley
Director of Educational Programs: Greg Rehmke
Bookkeeper: Ellen Baker
Office Manager: Donna Lee Braunstein
Public Affairs Assistant: Mario E. Clemente
Research Fellow: Nick Davis
Volunteers: Kitty Hedrick, Mark Lewis, Steven Piper, Gayle Teufel
Legal Adviser: Don Franzen

LETTERS

Start Your Engines

The feature articles related to automobiles, mobility, and their regulation ("Autonomy," "Trapped Inside the Safety Belt," and "Going Mobile," Aug./Sept.) carry consistent and important messages:

- Personal mobility and the vehicles that make it possible are viewed as negatives by those elements in society that covet central authority and the ability to control other people's lives.
- Regulatory and enforcement agencies are motivated more by perpetuating the "need" for their existence than they are by problem prevention and resolution.
- Agencies, organizations, and industries that cloak their activities in the banner of safety or environmental sanctity often do so to further agendas designed to enhance their own economic status or power base, at everyone else's expense.

As stated in "Trapped Inside the Safety Belt," the National Motorists Association is indeed a small organization, but we are not always "outgunned" by the regulatory/insurance/Naderite coalition. It was through our efforts that the first serious dent was put in the 55-mph national maximum speed limit. We will have more victories when citizens realize that the freedom to travel where they want to, when they want to, and the way they want to is in jeopardy of being lost in their lifetime.

James J. Baxter
President
National Motorists Association
Dane, WI

I PERFORMED SOME mathematics on statistics given in "Autonomy," by doing a least-squares fit of an exponentially decaying curve to the data of fatalities per 100 million miles of travel for the years 1921, 1941, 1947, and 1966. All of these statistics predate the founding of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and Ralph Nader's *Unsafe at Any Speed*. Using this statistical analysis method, I arrived at an estimate of 2.26 deaths per 100 million miles for the year 1988. The actual number, as reported in the articles, was 2.2. This gives further support to Mr. Smith's contention that we do not have the NHTSA to thank for fewer highway fatalities.

Jeff Wrobel
Kwajalein, Marshall Islands

COMMON SENSE SHOULD prevail in any analysis of the horse vs. the automobile for the transportation of people. Superiority of the automobile was established long, long ago. Comparison of early century transportation alternatives is a needless exercise and is irrelevant to the solution of our current transportation problems. However valuable the automobile may be as a transportation machine, urban areas across the nation are experiencing a deteriorating level of mobility from traffic congestion caused by an overabundance of automobiles. We have learned that the automobile does not lend itself to the transport of large numbers of people, simultaneously, in a given amount of operating space without inducing travel delays.

Pricing peak-hour travel, electronic navigation systems, and carpool lanes may help to alleviate peak-hour traffic congestion on heavily traveled routes, but these measures do not address the basic problem of excessive automobile travel demand. In heavily populated areas, alternative modes of transportation are the most effective means of reducing that demand.

Enamored by the automobile's convenience and flexibility, and the insis-

tence of economic theorists that the "pay as you go" system is best, America has concentrated nearly 100 percent of its surface travel demand onto the highway system. Developments in other modes of transportation have been ignored. Glorification of the automobile continues in spite of the appalling loss of life, congestion-related travel delays, environmental degradation, and dependence on foreign oil resulting from the enormous amount of daily vehicle-miles of travel generated on the nation's street and highway system.

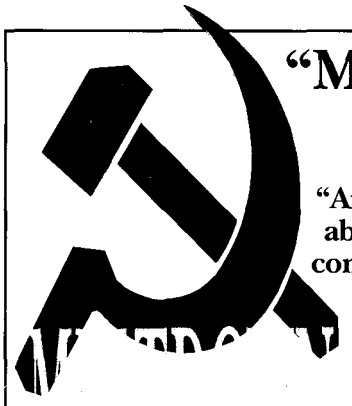
We have lost the concept of transporting people with efficiency, reliability, comfort, and speed with safety. Perhaps it is time for more of us to become "anticar intellectuals."

W. E. Wells
Yuba City, CA

FRED SMITH MAKES some excellent points about the ascendance of cars. I particularly enjoyed his insights on the privacy afforded by the auto. However, it is not realistic to use the horse as the standard against which the automobile's pollution, energy consumption, and safety records are judged. Rather, the scale should be the alternatives available today.

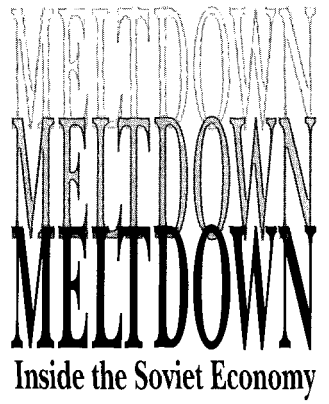
One form of transportation that went virtually unmentioned in Mr. Smith's article is the bicycle. It is cheaper (therefore more democratic) than the car, does not pollute, consumes only the energy of the user (in a healthful way), and is potentially much safer than the car.

The problems confronting people in today's world who choose to use the bicycle (safety, large distances of travel) are largely the result of city planning that is focused on the auto as the primary mode of transportation. This undemocratic structuring has limited the ability of those who choose to ride bikes to do so in a safe, efficient manner. We need to rethink our zoning and street system to make our cities more accessible to those who prefer bikes. Hong Kong is an example of an overcrowded city that has made the bicycle a cheap and practical alternative to the auto. Developing nations



"MYTH DISPELLING!"
–Robert Conquest
author, *The Great Terror*

"An indispensable guide to today's news about the Soviet Union and every other communist economy."
–Aaron Wildavsky
University of California



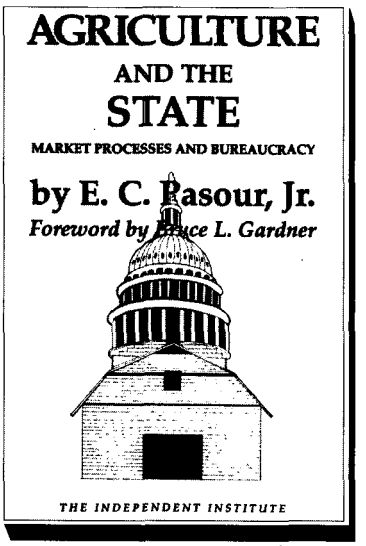
by **Paul Craig Roberts** and **Karen LaFollette**

Most Western analysts of Mikhail Gorbachev's reform plans in the Soviet Union focus on democracy and glasnost. What is still only dimly understood is the desperate economic situation. In *Meltdown: Inside the Soviet Economy*, economists Paul Craig Roberts and Karen LaFollette examine the Soviet economic crisis as it affects consumers, managers, and senior officials. They offer a rigorous yet nontechnical and highly readable analysis of the Soviet economy. It will be indispensable for all who wish to make sense of the current strife in the Soviet Union. 152 pages/ $19.95 cloth/ $9.95 paper

224 Second Street S.E., Dept. R
Washington, D.C. 20003
(202)546-0200 Fax (202)546-0728

CATO INSTITUTE

THE FARM BUREAUCRACY



Analyzing the direct and indirect effects of all U.S. farm programs, including price supports, marketing orders, food distribution, credit and export subsidies, and conservation of natural resources, Ernest C. Pasour, Jr., shows in ***Agriculture and the State*** that these programs have conflicting objectives, only hurt the small farmer, and most importantly, victimize the public-at-large. This comprehensive book exposes current government farm policies as harmfully anachronistic in an increasingly interdependent world.

"Professor Pasour presents an exhaustive, articulate, and well-written analysis of U.S. farm price and income programs, and makes a persuasive case."
—D. GALE JOHNSON
Professor of Economics
University of Chicago

The INDEPENDENT INSTITUTE

42 Figures • 9 Tables • Index • 279 pages, Paperback, Item #6071
$19.95 plus postage ($2.00 per book; CA residents add Sales Tax)

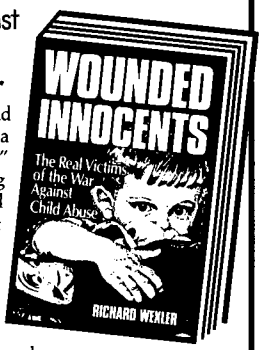
ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-927-8733
Credit card orders only. 24 hours a day.

The Independent Institute, Dept. AH3, 134 Ninety-Eighth Avenue, Oakland, CA 94603

WOUNDED INNOCENTS

The Real Victims of the War Against Child Abuse

Richard Wexler



"The war against child abuse has become a war against children," charges award-winning journalist Richard Wexler in this brilliant study of the U.S. child-protection system and the laws that enmesh it. Wexler illustrates how well-meaning efforts to help children have gone terribly wrong and how the current system desperately needs to be replaced with one that offers real help and real hope to abused and neglected children. Preventive programs, legal measures and incentives meant to preserve the family structure figure in his detailed recommendations for reform.

"A well-argued, in-depth study." —Publishers Weekly

369 pages (index) • Cloth $21.95

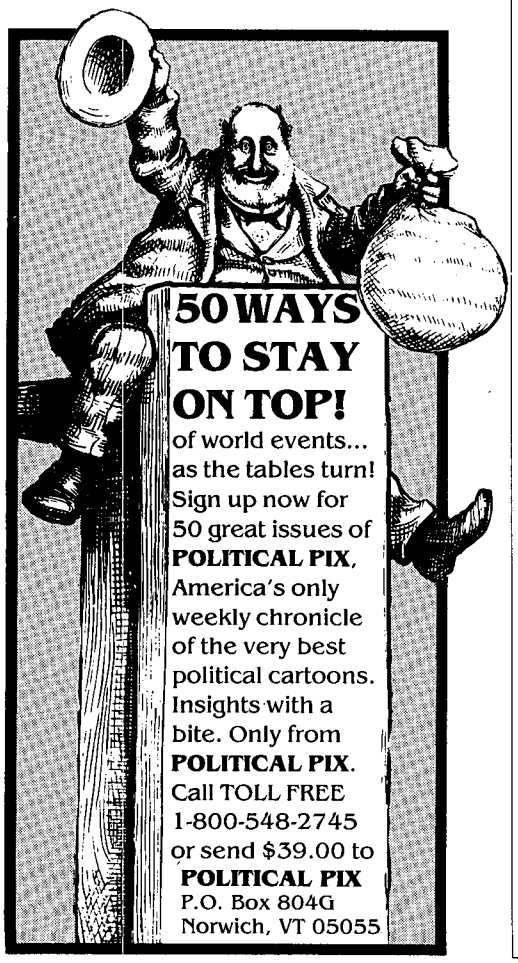
At better bookstores, or order directly from

PROMETHEUS BOOKS

Toll Free (800) 421-0351 • In NY State (716) 691-0133

59 John Glenn Drive • Amherst, NY 14228-2197

Add $2.50 p&h; NY State residents add sales tax. #30207


50 WAYS TO STAY ON TOP!
of world events... as the tables turn! Sign up now for 50 great issues of POLITICAL PIX, America's only weekly chronicle of the very best political cartoons. Insights with a bite. Only from POLITICAL PIX. Call TOLL FREE 1-800-548-2745 or send $39.00 to
POLITICAL PIX
P.O. Box 804G
Norwich, VT 05055

LETTERS

in particular should give careful consideration to the bicycle when designing their cities, since the majority of the people there cannot afford cars.

Certainly, the bicycle is not for everyone or every environment. In this age of overcrowded and smog-choked streets, though, it is an option whose use should be encouraged. Those who choose to ride bikes should be accommodated as much as possible; true autonomy lies not with the auto, but in our ability to choose the mode of transportation that best suits our personal and economic needs.

Eric Gottlieb
Seattle, WA

NEVER MIND Gorbachev's dilemma. Never mind Yeltsin and the Shalatin Plan. We have our very own market failure.

The United States has become a welfare state for the benefit of motorists, truckers, auto manufacturers (including Japanese and German), and the oil industry (including the OPEC nations). Saddam Hussein himself was created by the imbecility of subsidizing the use of American vehicles.

We subsidize parking, government services, the use of our highway system; we have ruined our public transportation systems. We have become utterly dependent on our automobiles. Our poor are burdened with costly gas guzzlers, or they are restricted to their ghettos and to a life of crime and poverty.

American automobiles and trucks—36 percent of the world's automotive population—consume 4 billion barrels of oil annually, almost 20 percent of the world's total oil production, 50 percent of the motor fuel. They produce 1 billion tons of CO_2 annually, plus vast amounts of nitrous oxides, CFCs, and other greenhouse gases. They kill 50,000 Americans each year and produce 500,000 serious injuries. And they drain away, egregiously, 25 percent of the American GNP.

The foundation of the world oil market is derived from these same American nonpolicies. How long before this American absurdity becomes the political target of leaders in Europe and Japan? How long can we continue to count on the tolerance of humanity?

An increase of 50 cents per gallon in the gas tax and subsequent 25-cent increases yearly until the aggregate tax level balances the subsidies (probably $3.50 to $4.00) would free us from our utter automobile dependence. The yield, of course, should be returned in the form of reduced sales and property taxes. Fuel consumption would be reduced 6 percent immediately. Long-term, the potential for reduction is probably 75 percent (based on European experience).

Such policy would be the most devastating blow we could deliver to Saddam and to his OPEC clones.

Stanley Hart
Chairman of Transportation
Southern California
The Sierra Club
Altadena, CA

Mr. Smith replies: W. E. Wells, already well on the way to becoming an "anticar intellectual," suggests that automobiles have outlived their usefulness. He dismisses tactical pricing techniques—peak-hour pricing, electronic navigation systems—as useful but unable to address the basic problem of urban congestion. In part I agree. Urban congestion is a critical problem, and that problem is unlikely to be resolved by any government pricing experiment. However, the problem is not the *private* automobile but the *public* highway. Indeed, the very concept of a private congestion "problem" is silly. Can one imagine a private entrepreneur complaining that too many people want to use his roadways at the current price? Anticar intellectuals should direct their irritation at the cause of congestion. Were they to do so, they might reclassify themselves (along with us classical liberals) as anti–political-highway intellectuals!

Eric Gottlieb champions the bicycle over the automobile but concedes that it is not for everyone or for every purpose. I agree. Bicycles are fine for the physically fit, brave individuals who travel alone, who shop and work near home, and who are insensitive to weather. But for the other 99-plus percent of all Americans, something else is needed, and that's the private passenger vehicle. To paraphrase

LETTERS

W. C. Fields: For normal travel, bicycles aren't worth a damn!

Though Stanley Hart and I start from similar data, we are in major disagreement. He focuses on the fact that many highway users fail to pay their way. I agree. But he sees the problem as a *market failure*—as a subsidy to automobile *driving*. I disagree. Most subsidies and inefficiencies in the highway system take the form of either internal cross-subsidies—one group of users or one region subsidizes another—or of direct pork-barrel grants to road builders and developers. There is indeed failure in the transportation sector, but that failure is found in the political, not market, component of the system.

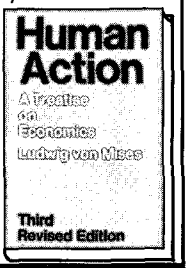
The obvious solution to government failure is privatization. Market prices are fairer and more rational than their political analogues. Pork-barrel politics isn't a private problem; firms make mistakes, but they rarely build—and never deliberately build—roads or bridges that lack economic justification. Public-works agencies, in contrast, do so repetitively.

Hart actually seems more concerned about American energy consumption than the car per se. He should therefore be elated by the Bush-whacking of the American public in the recent budget compromise. The Bush proposals would raise consumer gasoline taxes by 25 cents per gallon to fund military and welfare programs—not quite the $3.00 to $4.00 per-gallon tax rate sought by Hart but a step in that direction. But gas taxes are lousy pricing mechanisms. They force drivers to pay more regardless of the costs they impose on others. Gasoline taxes treat everyone as equally responsible for pollution, congestion, and road damage, and thus move us further from the principle that the polluter should pay.

The real tragedy of America's transportation policy is a failure to allow markets to operate. To paraphrase Abraham Lincoln: America's transportation system cannot forever remain half slave and half free. It will eventually become all the one or all the other. Environmentalists and free marketeers alike should come down clearly on the side of freedom and responsibility.

BOOKS ON CASSETTES

- The Conservative Classics
- Unabridged Recordings
- Purchase & 30 Day Rentals
- Books by Buckley, Gilder, Sowell, Muggeridge, Paul Johnson, Friedman, Hayek, Tocqueville, Kirk, Mises, Podhoretz, Kistol, Neuhaus, Rusher, Twain, & scores of others.



CLASSICS ON TAPE
P.O. Box 969, Ashland, OR 97520
- For Free Catalog, Call

1 (800) 729-2665

Bargain Books,
Publishers' Overstocks
Over 3,000 Titles at up to 80% Off in our Free Catalog
Choose from Biography, History, Fiction, Art, Literature, Health, Movies, Nature, Cooking and Gardening and much more. Everything from yesterday's best sellers to hard-to-find books you never knew existed—including about 600 new arrivals monthly. Write:
Hamilton
Box 15-502, Falls Village CT 06031

reason
TO SUBSCRIBE: (815) 734-6309 $15.95 11 ISSUES

What Is This?

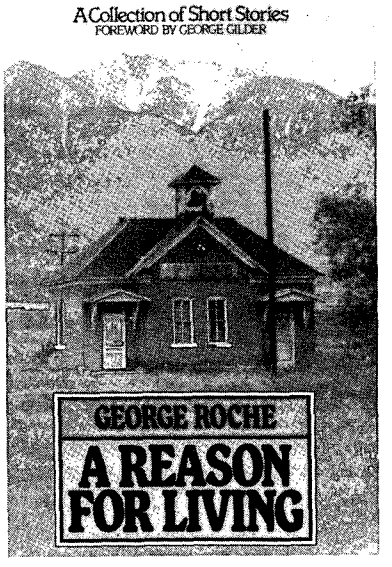
- *Short stories by a college president?*
- *Foreword by an economist?*
- *Praise from a poet, a PBS film critic, and a best-selling spy novelist?*

"Come with George Roche to the shadow of Mt. Shavano, where the snow piles up over the rooftops and animals howl in the night and the road is closed for the season . . ."
—*George Gilder*
Economist, Author, Microcosm

"There is a weathered, homemade feeling about these stories, a feeling of remembered, rather than imagined texture. I loved the bright solidity of this volume and admire it very much indeed."
—*Fred Chappell*
Poet, First and Last Words

"As fiction writing, this work is deceptively simple—a plain, earthy guts-and-whiskey surface that only hints at the spiritual punch and resonance that the stories achieve."
—*Michael Medved*
PBS Film Critic

". . .very inspiring. The ability of our people to triumph over adversity is what made this country great and George Roche reminds us of this fact."
—*Clive Cussler*
Author, Raise the Titanic and Deep Six



A Reason for Living is a new collection of short stories by George Roche, the President of Hillsdale College, about the rough-and-tumble lives of people in early-to-mid-20th century Colorado who find a reason for living in the very adversities of everyday life — whether they be crippling accidents, crime and corruption, or the pressures of imminent matrimony.

Ordering Information
By special arrangement with Regnery Gateway, **A Reason for Living**, by George Roche
$14.95 cloth ($3.00 off the list price)
Visa/MasterCard orders, call:
1-800-837-4247
Free shipping!
To order by mail:
Freedom Library
Hillsdale College
Hillsdale, MI 49242

FLAME-RESISTANT U.S.A. FLAGS!

Sewn stripes & embroidered stars attest to high quality in these majestic cotton flags! Also available: low-budget printed cloth flags. All flags soaked 4 hours in dual-chemical flame-retardant solution. Bonus: Orders of at least $65 will receive free additional item # US2.

Item # US1 36"x60" Embroidered U.S. flag $48
Item # US2 24"x36" Embroidered U.S. flag $30
Item # US3 24"x36" Printed cloth U.S. flag $15
Item # US4 8"x12" Printed cloth U.S. flag $5
(All prices include shipping and tax, where applicable)

Perfect Christmas gift for your favorite patriot!

Order from: Richert Enterprises
1425 South Puget Drive - Suite#107
Renton, Washington 98055-4327

Money orders welcome; no credit cards. Most checks welcome, EXCEPT from accounts at SeaFirst Bank.
"I'd rather lose a sale than help to support SeaFirst Bank. They maintain Contracts with the PRIDE organization, who undermines traditional American family values."
Christmas delivery for orders received by Dec. 5th!

Don't you think the Ivy League should have a magazine about liberty?

So do we.
And we need your help.

THE BROWN SPECTATOR

PO Box 1930, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912

Please help support the Ivy League's only libertarian magazine. Subscriptions, advertising rates available on request; all contributions fully tax-deductible.

FINANCIAL PRIVACY

Best Techniques for Creating FINANCIAL PRIVACY

- Become "invisible" to investigators
- Stop generating financial records
- Communications privacy...mail, phone
- Using a business to create privacy
- Hiding your assets ■ Privacy from taxes
- Using other "names" ■ Offshore options
- Operating in cash ■ Confidential loans
- Safes, private storage ■ Cash equivalents
- Banking alternatives ■ Second passports
- Profitable private investments
- Tax havens ■ A private will
- Enjoying your assets quietly
- Avoiding financial schemes
- 20 steps to take immediately

THE COMPLETE GUIDE TO FINANCIAL PRIVACY

16 Chapters, indexed
182 pages

The Complete Guide to FINANCIAL PRIVACY **ONLY $24.95**

Don't wait! Order TODAY!

Your Choice { ☐ Regular P&H, $2.00 (Please add ☐ FIRST CLASS, $5.00 to order.)
(California residents please add 6% sales tax.)
☐ Send latest Book Catalog — FREE.

EDEN PRESS • Box 8410-RN • Fountain Valley, CA 92728

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

LETTERS

Hooked on Addiction

Bruce Alexander's review of Stanton Peele's *Diseasing of America* ("Beware the Cure," Aug./Sept.) continues your welcome recent focus on the issue of whether addiction or excessive behavior is sick, bad, crazy, or whatever. In examining Mr. Peele's candidates for the cause of such widespread behavior, however, he overlooks a couple of vital points.

Alexander correctly observes that the ideas that addiction is a disease (which Peele rejects) and that addiction is a failure of will (which Peele entertains) are both "dangerous." However, this danger is not based on the incorrectness of either idea—indeed, I see each of them as expressing an aspect of the full picture—but on the likelihood that powers-that-be (or would-like-to-be) will try to use them to rationalize their desires to intervene in other people's lives with coercive treatment methods and programs.

To his credit, Alexander allows that the seemingly more humane solutions he favors "may be out of reach without some further analysis of the forces that made American society so harsh in the first place." As I see it, those forces stem from bad ideas.

Wars on drugs, alcohol, cigarette smoking, overeating, oversexing, overworking, etc.; coercive treatment programs; domestic welfare spending—none of these will work. A battle of ideas can, if enough of us are willing to arm ourselves properly and fight it. The continuing spread of various Twelve-Step recovery programs is one very encouraging sign that the tide of battle may actually be turning.

Roger Bissell
Orange, CA

Hungary for Freedom

I read Thomas Hazlett's column ("Expensive Accommodations," Oct.) with interest. While the facts he cites regarding events after World War II are essentially correct, the facts he omits could lead to a conclusion quite different than the one he draws.

He concludes that Hungary's prosperity, relative to other satellite nations like Czechoslovakia, is due to Kádár's accommodations to the Soviets. Let me submit that Soviet hesitance to interfere in Hungarian affairs after 1956 was due more to the Molotov cocktails thrown at Russian tanks by Hungarian freedom fighters than to Soviet consideration for their man Kádár.

Imré Nágy, who led the 1956 revolution and was recently rehabilitated and properly buried, did not have the option of driving a bus for 20 years as Czechoslovakia's Dubcek did. The Czech people in 1968 were less willing to spill their blood in the hopeless cause of militarily defeating Russia than were the Hungarians, who in 1956 drove the Soviet army from their country, opened free borders, and for a brief time were a neutral, independent nation.

It seems that Russia subsequently gave Hungary the latitude that it did because it was not willing to pay the price involved in crushing another revolt of the people; Russia moved into Czechoslovakia because it was quite prepared to correct a satellite's leadership that was not following Moscow's policy.

The Hungarian revolt came about because of the average person's unwillingness to continue to live under Communist rule, the Czech rebellion because of their leader's desire to liberalize socialism.

The fact that Hungarian troops were involved in quelling the Czech protest is better explained by the traditional enmity between the nations than by some Kádár plot to economically exploit the lack of Czech freedom. You didn't see Polish troops in Hungary or vice versa because the Russians knew they would rather fire upon them than upon their traditional friends, but Czech soldiers welcomed the chance to occupy Hungary and vice versa.

Kádár's fate with Saint Peter is indeed akin to the murderer of the parents who then raises the orphan. The Hungarian people, however, face no such dilemma, as they have proven their belief in freedom by shedding their blood.

As communism crumbles in the East Bloc nations, the question will be not who says they want freedom but who will renounce their jealousy of those who prosper as government gets off their backs. Will they accept competition in a free marketplace or cry for government intervention to guarantee equal results? Which will America choose?

Victor Hazy, Jr.
Gainesville, FL

Check Your Sources

Steven Hayward's review of Harvey Mansfield's *Taming the Prince* ("Grab a Whip and a Chair," Aug./Sept.) claims that the book offers a challenge to libertarian political theory vis-à-vis the issue of presidential prerogative or executive power vs. the rule of law. Yet the only libertarians Hayward seems to know of are Hayek and Nozick. This is made evident by his remark that "libertarian political theory is rather more Aristotelian than anyone has explicitly noticed."

First, REASON magazine itself was founded on the belief that an Aristotelian approach to politics and such a basis for libertarian political theory are needed—hence the name *Reason* for the publication (inspired by the explicitly Aristotelian thought of Ayn Rand).

Second, several of REASON's early supporters as well as I—one of its founders—have written extensively in the Aristotelian political and philosophical tradition in support of libertarian political theory—see, for example, my books *Human Rights and Human Liberties* and *Individuals and Their Rights*. Libertarian theorists such as Eric Mack, Fred Miller, Douglas Den Uyl, and Douglas Rasmussen—to name only the most prolific of them—have placed a good deal of scholarly work on record within this tradition.

Third, Hayward's claim that the power of executive prerogative is "arbitrary" in John Locke's view is just wrong: Locke believed that the exercise of such power must be justified post facto—a point I discuss in detail in *Human Rights and Human Liberties*.

It is too bad that Hayward's review exhibits much more stargazing than familiarity with the relevant scholarly literature, not to mention recent intellectual history.

Tibor R. Machan
Auburn, AL

Mr. Hayward replies: I am surprised that only Tibor Machan picked up the gauntlet I so pugnaciously threw down. My intention in writing the review as pointedly as I did was to provoke libertarians to reclaim and champion the Aristotelian basis of libertarian theory. In this regard, I think I can characterize my reaction to this exchange by adapting a quip once made about a teacher of mine: If you think Machan is hard to argue with, try *agreeing* with him—it's nearly impossible.

I plead guilty to being unfamiliar with the work of the scholars Machan mentions (I suppose I read the wrong journals), though I am an admirer of Machan's work, especially on natural rights. But I do have far too many conversations with libertarians who are even less well acquainted than I with the classic teachings, and who express a theoretical antipathy toward executive power.

In the main this seems to stem from a neglect of the Aristotelian intellectual patrimony Machan champions. One can be, as I am, temperamentally and practically suspicious of executives, but it will not do to suppose that we can devise a system without political executives or one that unrealistically minimalizes the executive. That is why I thought Mansfield—not especially a friend (or foe) of libertarianism—was helpful in focusing attention on the issue.

As to the issue of the arbitrariness of executive prerogative in Locke, I remain in disagreement with Machan.

Communicate with REASON

We appreciate receiving your letters, typed double-space and limited to 200 words. Letters sent to REASON will be considered for publication (unless otherwise noted) and may be subject to abridgement or editorial comment.

2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062
Santa Monica, CA 90405

THE BEST FILMS YOU NEVER SAW.

Now you can rent or purchase videotapes by mail of over 1,200 hard-to-find quality films including:

Love and Anarchy	Mephisto
A Taxing Woman	Wuthering Heights
The Wall	Au Revoir Les Enfants
The Conformist	Cry Freedom
The Firemen's Ball	Gallipoli
Hope and Glory	The Last Metro
The Seven Samurai	Citizen Kane

Choose from foreign and independent films, limited release features, Hollywood classics, cult favorites and documentaries. 3 night rentals are just $3.50 to $5. plus postage. Membership is only $10 per year. First rental **FREE.** (Satisfaction guaranteed or full refund if you return membership kit before free rental.) Gift memberships packages available. For free information packet and film list, or to join by phone, call: **1-800-258-3456.**

Home Film Festival
P.O. Box 2032
Scranton, PA 18501

Home Film Festival®
VIDEOCASSETTE RENTALS BY MAIL

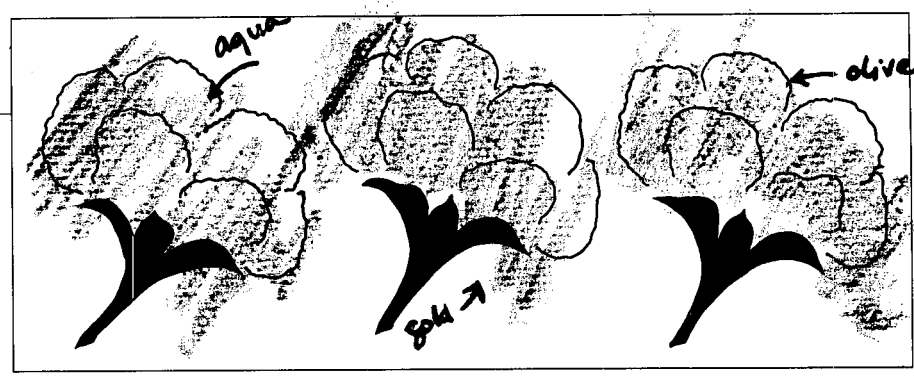
Please send my membership kit to: Reasons
Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Phone _____
❑ Check enclosed ❑ Visa ❑ MasterCard
Card # _____ Exp. _____
Signature _____

SPEAK SPANISH - ANY LANGUAGE - AS DIPLOMATS DO - AT UP TO 50% SAVINGS

Yes, with **Audio-Language and Knowledge Institute**®, you can learn to speak the foreign language of your choice QUICKLY, EASILY, INEXPENSIVELY, AT YOUR OWN CONVENIENCE, using, the SAME FOREIGN SERVICE audio-cassette courses developed by U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT FOR ITS DIPLOMATS. Each course has been **field tested** and proven by thousands of diplomats as well as the general public. **Why Pay Big** when now we offer you these SAME COURSES at prices that are **up to 50% lower** than any you have seen elsewhere. A total of 56 languages, so take this unique opportunity, fill out the coupon below and mail it TODAY for your FREE catalogue or call toll FREE **1-800-722-6394.**

TO: AUDIO LANGUAGE AND KNOWLEDGE INSTITUTE RM12
516 Fifth Avenue Suite 507
New York, N.Y. 10036

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ ZIP _____



Whites Only

For eight years, Sally Fox, a genetic engineer, spent her free time breeding colored cotton. She spun the cotton into yarn as a hobby. That hobby now seems to be paying off: The naturally brown and green cotton, first developed by the Incas, is proving to be a popular novelty item, as well as a practical alternative to expensive dying. A mill in Japan wants as much of it as Fox can grow, and mills in the United States and West Germany have asked for test samples. What's more, they're paying five to eight times the market rate for high-quality white cotton.

But Fox lives in California, where commercial cotton growers are allowed to raise only Acala, a white variety. Last November, the Acala Cotton Board, which enforces the one-variety rule, rejected Fox's request to expand her 160-acre test plot in the San Joaquin Valley to 2,000 acres. Fox continues to maintain her test plot in California, but her commercial operations are in Texas and Arizona.

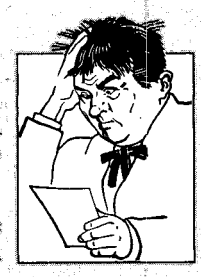
A fourth-generation Californian, she is determined to remain in the state. Her resolve is reinforced by business considerations: Yanbo Inc., the Japanese mill that buys Fox's crop, wants to market products from California because they have greater consumer appeal. When Yanbo learned Fox could not grow her cotton in California, it cut its original order in half.

A bill in the state legislature would allow the cultivation of special, "niche" cottons, subject to the approval of California's growers in a statewide referendum. But Fox has lobbied against the provision because she feels the growers will vote to protect their own interests.

Acala growers say a lower-grade cotton such as Fox's will contaminate their crop, which has a reputation as the nation's best, through cross-pollination and mixing in the ginning process. Growers are particularly concerned about Fox's cotton because the colors will make even slight contamination noticeable. Fox says her cotton is isolated from other seed cottons by half a mile, twice the maximum distance required by the Environmental Protection Agency. And her cotton is always sent to ginners last, so that it doesn't contaminate the crops of other growers.

Dick Bassett, an agronomist at the University of California, Davis, says such precautions would allow Fox's cotton to be safely grown among the more than 1 million acres of Acala in the valley. But Bassett says growers still worry about damage to their reputation, whether or not fears of contamination are well-founded. The greatest benefit of the one-variety law, he says, has been its use as "an easy marketing tool" for Acala growers, who boast of growing cotton in a "pure" environment.

—Prabhat Mehta



It's Only Money

What? More money may be needed for federal bailouts? The S&L crisis is just the tip of the iceberg?

Quite possibly, says Ronald Utt, an economist with the National Chamber Foundation. The government's total financial obligations now come to some $5.8 trillion (more than twice the value of the national debt), "and much of that obligation is in bad shape," he notes in a report released by the Heritage Foundation. Without fundamental reform—including the eventual elimination of many government credit and insurance funds—these programs one by one will follow the FSLIC down the road to insolvency, Utt predicts.

Here's a list of some of the biggest credit obligations that you may be required to pay for one day:

FDIC	$1.8 trillion
FSLIC	959 billion
Pension programs	819 billion
Government-sponsored enterprises	763 billion
Direct loan programs (includes Export-Import Bank, Small Business Admin., and Rural Telephone Bank)	207 billion
National Credit Union Administration	161 billion

(Note: There is some overlap in the above figures.)

Institute for Humane Studies

will award
STUDENT FELLOWSHIPS
of up to

$17,500

in tuition and stipend for educational expenses
to undergraduate and graduate students.

IHS CLAUDE R. LAMBE FELLOWSHIPS

Application rules:
1. Applicants must have at least junior standing at an accredited university by the 1991 Fall term. Fellowships for students who have applied to graduate programs, but who have not yet been accepted, are conditional upon acceptance.
2. Major field of study must be in the social sciences, law, the humanities, literature, communications, or journalism, and applicants must be pursuing or intending to pursue graduate study in those fields.
3. Applicants should have a clearly demonstrated interest in classical liberal/libertarian ideas.
4. Applicants must intend to pursue an intellectual or scholarly career.

APPLICATION DEADLINE: JANUARY 15, 1991

The Institute for Humane Studies is proud to announce the 1991-92 Claude R. Lambe Fellowship program. Fellowships will be awarded based on academic performance, interest in classical liberal ideas, and potential for an intellectual or scholarly career. The Lambe Fellowship competition is open to all qualified students regardless of race, religion, color sex, age, military service, handicap, or national or ethnic origin.

Applicants who receive full-tuition scholarships from other sources are eligible to receive only the stipend for educational expenses of up to $8,500. The amount of the fellowship will depend on tuition costs at the recipient's university, the status of any other scholarships awarded to the recipient for the 1991-92 academic year, and relative financial need.

For an application packet write:
Lambe Fellowship Secretary, Institute for Humane Studies, George Mason University,
4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030-4444

IHS The Institute for Humane Studies

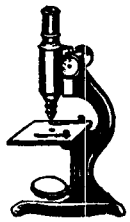
at George Mason University

4400 University Drive, Fairfax, VA 22030-4444
703/323-1055

BALANCE SHEET

Assets

Outside Job. Massachusetts voters pick gubernatorial hopefuls John Silber and William Weld over establishment pols. By a 2-to-1 margin, Oklahomans approve 12-year term limits for state legislators. In California and Colorado, pre-elections polls show similar support for term-limitation initiatives. Incumbents beware!



Clean Pool. One year after scientists discovered the gene that causes cystic fibrosis, research teams in Michigan and Iowa use the gene to "fix" defective cells from CF patients. Drugs to cure CF may follow. And gene-replacement therapies might soon treat common diseases, not just the rare ones genetic engineers first targeted. There may be something to that biotech thing after all.

Tuned Up. Donald H. Stedman's mobile smog tests get serious attention in the mainstream press. (See "Going Mobile," Aug./Sept.) The *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and *Business Week* favorably profile Stedman and his machine. *Car and Driver*'s Patrick Bedard heaps praise on the chemistry professor and notes, "The day of the gross-polluter ticket is fast approaching."

Baser Instincts. The Pentagon plans to shut down or cut back 150 U.S. bases overseas. Germany and the rest of Europe will absorb most of the losses. With the Koreas talking of reunification and the Philippines threatening to toss us out, look for more announcements soon.

Liabilities

No 'Count. Surprise, surprise, and go-ol-ly, officials in nearly every American city plan to challenge the 1990 census. Why? Low tallies mean fewer federal handouts. New York City Mayor David Dinkins wins the honesty award: "If the paltry results...aren't challenged, New Yorkers will lose representation in Congress as well as hundreds of millions of dollars in federal aid." Mr. Mayor, if you'd cut taxes and clean up the subways, maybe people would stay around.

They're Nuts. After six years of delays, the world's most powerful land-based telescope may soon be located in Chile instead of Arizona. Environmentalists trying to save the Mt. Graham red squirrel win an appellate court injunction that will tie up the University of Arizona for at least another year. The university, which already spends $200,000 annually to protect the squirrels' habitat, can't clear *one acre* of land to build an observatory. Score another one for the eco-freaks.

Tank Job. The S&L virus infects the entire banking system. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. will lose more than $3 billion this year; in February, FDIC head William Seidman guessed it would break even. Chase Manhattan's estimated $625-million third-quarter loss sends shock waves through the markets: With only $11 billion in reserve, one major bank failure will wipe out the FDIC. Better stuff that mattress.

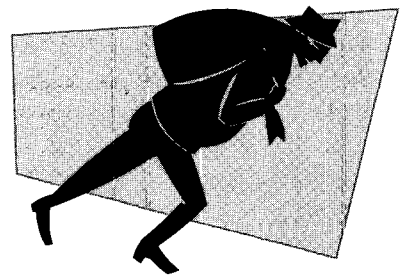
Nader Trap. Ralph Nader keeps playin' that same old tune. On "The MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour," Nader claims greedy oil futures traders, feeding inflation, will lead the country into recession; then overleveraged corporate victims of mergermania won't make enough profits to repay their junk bonds. Tortured logic aside, Nader's message remains: Make me Dictator of the Universe before all hell breaks loose.

—Rick Henderson

Not So Fast

Like a shoplifter confronted by a closed-circuit TV camera, governments are finding they can no longer take with impunity. Three recent cases, one in a California court of appeals and two in the U.S. Claims Court, reinforce a trend toward stricter scrutiny of government regulations that violate property rights.

The California case, *Rooke* v. *City of Scotts Valley*, involved an elderly couple, Donald and Marjorie Rooke, who attempted to sell their trailer park in 1986. The Rookes learned that the city of Scotts Valley had passed an ordinance requiring them to show that no low- or moderate-income tenants would be affected and that all of the tenants would be able to find other sites for their trailers. Furthermore,



the ordinance required the Rookes to pay each tenant the in-place value of their mobile homes. Since this amount includes the value of the land, the Rookes would in effect be required to buy the park again before they could sell it.

The state Superior Court ruled that the ordinance (since repealed) violated the Fifth Amendment's Takings Clause, but it found that the Rookes could not be awarded damages because they had not exhausted all the possible administrative remedies. That aspect of the judgment was overturned by the Sixth District Court of Appeals, which concluded that since the ordinance was unconstitutional on its face, the Rookes are entitled to compensation without having to jump through the city's procedural hoops.

The two federal cases involved the Army Corps of Engineers' refusal to issue permits for the filling of property designated as wetlands. In both cases the land was purchased before Congress gave the

corps jurisdiction over it. The U.S. Claims Court found that the permit denials amounted to the taking of property without just compensation, in violation of the Fifth Amendment.

In *Florida Rock Industries Inc.* v. *United States*, the plaintiff had purchased 1,560 acres in Dade County, Florida, with the intent of mining it for limestone. The corps ordered the company to stop mining and later refused to grant a permit to continue the operation on 98 of the acres. The court awarded damages of $1 million to compensate for the loss of that parcel's use.

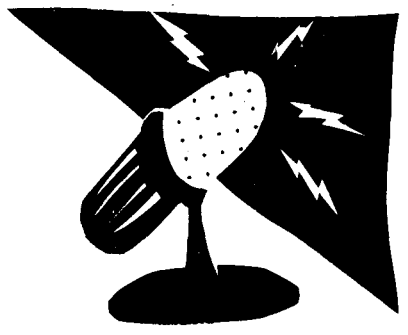
In the other case, *Loveladies Harbor Inc.* v. *United States*, the court awarded $2.7 million to the plaintiff for 12.5 acres in Ocean County, New Jersey, that could not be developed without a fill permit. "The value of the property," declared the court, "has been virtually eradicated as a result of government action."

—*Jacob Sullum*

Pirating the Airwaves

Dewayne Readus is a felon. His crime: playing rap music.

Readus, who is blind, operates a one-watt FM station out of his tenement apartment in Springfield, Illinois. In March, the Federal Communications Commission fined Readus $750 and ordered him to shut down his unlicensed station. (The FCC will license only FM stations with a minimum power of 100 watts.) So far, Readus has refused to pay the fine, and he continues to broadcast.



Although he has been on the air since 1986, Readus claims that his trouble with the FCC began only last year, when he started airing interviews of community members with grievances against the local police. In April 1989, Readus shut down his station after receiving his first warning from the FCC. But a week later, he switched his equipment back on and, on the air, telephoned authorities to let them know about it.

Readus has now begun to call for deregulation of broadcasting to allow low-wattage stations like his to operate legally. "The airwaves aren't exactly crowded with black voices," he told the *Columbia Journalism Review*'s Rich Shereikis, "so I don't see that it's a big problem if we get our share of the action by putting ourselves on the air."

—*Charles Oliver*

The Wit & Wisdom of Thomas Szasz

His latest book is scintillating, outrageous, incandescent, biting, iconoclastic — and thoroughly, devastatingly fun!

The Untamed Tongue **runs the gamut from simple, one- sentence aphorisms to meditations several paragraphs in length. Here's a small sample of the observations that await you in this provocative book:**

- Treating heroin addiction with methadone is like treating scotch addiction with bourbon.
- The proverb warns, "You should not bite the hand that feeds you." But maybe you should, if it prevents you from feeding yourself.
- The plague of mankind is the fear and rejection of diversity: monotheism, monarchy, monogamy—and in our age monomedicine. The belief that there is only one right way to live is the root cause of the greatest threat to man: members of his own species, bent on ensuring his salvation, security and sanity.

The Untamed Tongue **exhibits an adult's seriousness of purpose, and a child's sense of delight—you won't want to miss it! Order your copy today!**

ONLY $15.95 (paperback)

Send your book order to:

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Dept. RH2, 942 Howard Street, San Francisco CA 94103

ORDER TOLL-FREE 1-800-326-0996

M-F 9:00-6:00 Pacific Time FAX: 415-541-0597

BRICKBATS

In Cebu City, Philippines, police killed Enrique Quinanola while attempting to prevent him from committing suicide.

My thanks to Gore Vidal and *The Nation* for revealing that heterosexuality "was invented as recently as 1930" by the *New York Times*. Finally, I *can* think of one good thing to say about the *Times*.

Gov. Michael Dukakis has signed a Massachusetts law allowing people who have overdue library books to be jailed. Well, I guess George Bush is going to have to take back all those things he said about the Duke being soft on crime.

Baltimore contractor Donald Keister wants some of the city contracts set aside for minorities. No, Keister isn't black or Hispanic; he's white. But at 640 pounds, Keister thinks he's part of another minority—the obese. That's what the civil rights movement has come to. It started with "I have a dream" and ends with "I'll have another cheeseburger."

City officials in Toccoa, Georgia, have decided that yoga isn't a form of devil worship after all. So they've reversed their earlier decision banning yoga classes in public schools. Local chiropractor Philip Lawrence led the fight against the classes. Yoga, he says, teaches people to clear their minds, and that just allows Lucifer to traipse in and wreak havoc.

While most Saudis appreciate America's efforts to prevent an invasion by Iraq, it seems they would prefer that we had left some of our troops back in the United States. Specifically, those of the female gender. "Not a single one approves of the women soldiers," one Saudi woman told the *Wall Street Journal*. "Everyone is sure they are here to provide sex for the servicemen, or worse, to steal our husbands." OK, when did Phyllis Schlafly move to Saudi Arabia?

No one would ever accuse the DEA and the FBI of trying to fix an election. But it did seem rather strange that the agencies funded an Anchorage seminar on the "health effects" of marijuana less than two months before Alaskans voted on an initiative to make pot illegal again. Believe it or not, the seminarians said that pot does all sorts of nasty stuff to one's body. When asked why they didn't present the other side, FBI Special Agent Billy Andrews said, "There is no other side." How can these guys expect to find drug dealers when they can't even find opponents of the drug war?

When farm-policy expert Willie Nelson found out that he had lost several million dollars in bad tax shelters, he knew just what to do. He filed a racketeering suit against his accountants, Price Waterhouse. In addition to his lost money, Nelson wants to recover for the "ridicule and scorn" he suffered because of his losses. In the twilight glow I see him, blue eyes cryin' in the rain.

Two months and at least $70,000 ago the mayors of Santa Monica and Los Angeles formed the Business/Government Council to End Homelessness. So far, the council has hired two public relations firms. And the program has been quite successful. There are no homeless flacks in either L.A. or Santa Monica.

In Hamburg and Berlin, the sex shops and adult theaters are now packed with East Germans. Whole families take an early bus across the border to stroll through the shops, gawk at hookers working the streets, and pick up sexual toys. "We counted 220 buses in one day, and sometimes they fill the store till no one can move," crowed one sex-shop manager. And skin magazine publishers say their sales have shot through the roof. Forget Ronald Reagan and Milton Friedman and even Adam Smith. It seems the person who brought communism to its knees was Marilyn Chambers.

—Charles Oliver

Do you suffer from

Tired Libertarianism?

Do you have any of these symptoms?

Are you *tired* of essays that apologize for human liberty, instead of joyously advocating liberty and exploring its possibilities?

Are you *tired* of articles on why free-market garbage collection is better than government-run garbage collection?

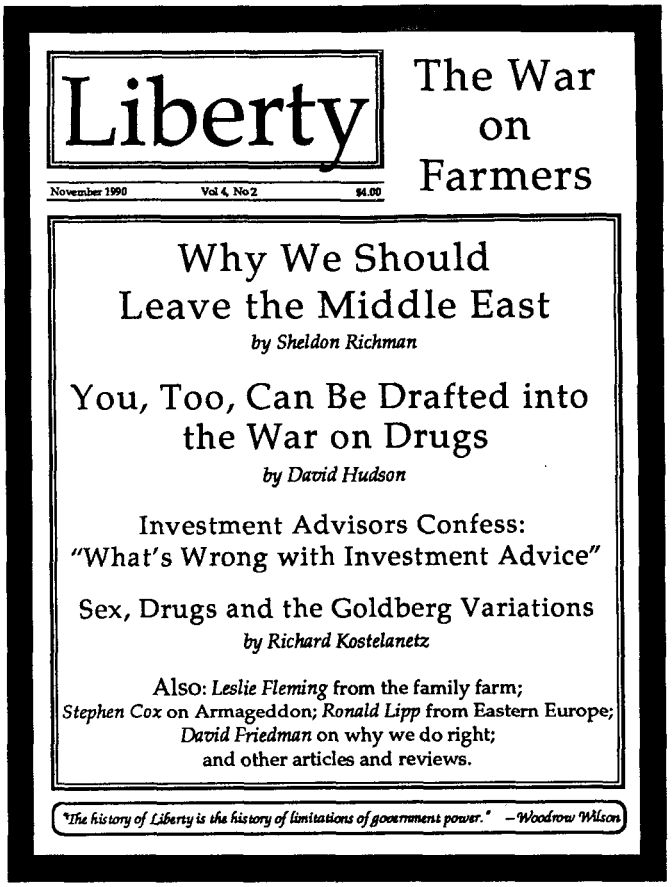
When a libertarian publication arrives, do you put it on your coffee table and say, "I'll get around to it, one of these days . . ."?

If you answered "Yes" to any of these questions, you may suffer from *tired libertarianism.*

Hope for the suffering!

Until recently there was no cure for tired libertarianism. The victims of this dread disease had nothing to look forward to but a life of gradually increasing ennui, culminating in intellectual death.

Happily there is now a cure: the libertarian bi-monthly, **Liberty**!


Liberty
November 1990 Vol 4, No 2 $4.00
The War on Farmers
Why We Should Leave the Middle East
by Sheldon Richman
You, Too, Can Be Drafted into the War on Drugs
by David Hudson
Investment Advisors Confess: "What's Wrong with Investment Advice"
Sex, Drugs and the Goldberg Variations
by Richard Kostelanetz
Also: Leslie Fleming from the family farm; Stephen Cox on Armageddon; Ronald Lipp from Eastern Europe; David Friedman on why we do right; and other articles and reviews.
"The history of Liberty is the history of limitations of government power." —Woodrow Wilson

In the past two years, **Liberty** has published more than 900 pages of the best libertarian writing. The writers for **Liberty** have constituted virtually a "who's who" of libertarianism: Karl Hess, Thomas Szasz, Sheldon Richman, David Friedman, Robert Higgs, George H. Smith, Tibor Machan, Stephen Cox, Robert Higgs, Bill Kauffman, John Hospers, Durk Pearson and Sandy Shaw, David Gordon, Leland Yeager, Richard Kostelanetz . . . In what other publications do you consistently find the work of provocative writers like these?

That is why **Liberty** has achieved such an avid and enthusiastic readership so quickly.

Fast, Fast, *Fast* Relief!

Liberty is now available without your doctor's prescription.

If you are suffering from tired libertarianism, order a one year subscription to **Liberty** today, and every second month you will receive relief in the form of **Liberty**'s fast-paced, exciting articles and reviews!

Money-Back Guarantee

We are confident that you will think **Liberty** is worth its price of $19.50 per year—so confident that we have made your subscription to **Liberty** risk-free. You are protected by our **guarantee** detailed in the box below.

A recent reader survey revealed that on average, each article is read by an astonishing 87% of our readers.

Act Today!

Liberty offers you the best in libertarian thinking and libertarian writing. So don't hesitate: subscribe today. You have the fruits of **Liberty** to gain!

Coming in *Liberty* . . .

- **In Search of the Historical Gorbachev** — Jim Robbins investigates Gorby's life before he became the darling of the news media and learns that . . . well . . . that he is *not* a very nice man.
- **Wall Street Revisited** — Douglas Casey stands Wall Street wisdom on its head. Mike Milken is a hero, management is in bed with regulators, and white knights wear black hats.
- **On-Line Education** — David Friedman shows how computers can be more than expensive, bulky books.
- **Murray Rothbard and His Critics** — Chris Sciabarra considers criticisms of Rothbard's libertarianism from socialists, conservatives, Objectivists and Hayekians, and finds surprising agreement among them.

Money Back Double Guarantee

1. We guarantee a full refund with no questions asked upon your request after you have received your first issue.
2. At any time during the life of your subscription, we guarantee a full pro-rated refund for any unmailed issues.

R. W. Bradford
Publisher

Yes! Please enter my subscription to **Liberty**. I understand that I may obtain a pro-rated refund for any unmailed copies at any time, no questions asked.

❑ One Full Year (6 issues) $19.50 ❑ Two Full years (12 issues) $35.00

(foreign subscriptions: add $5 per year.)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

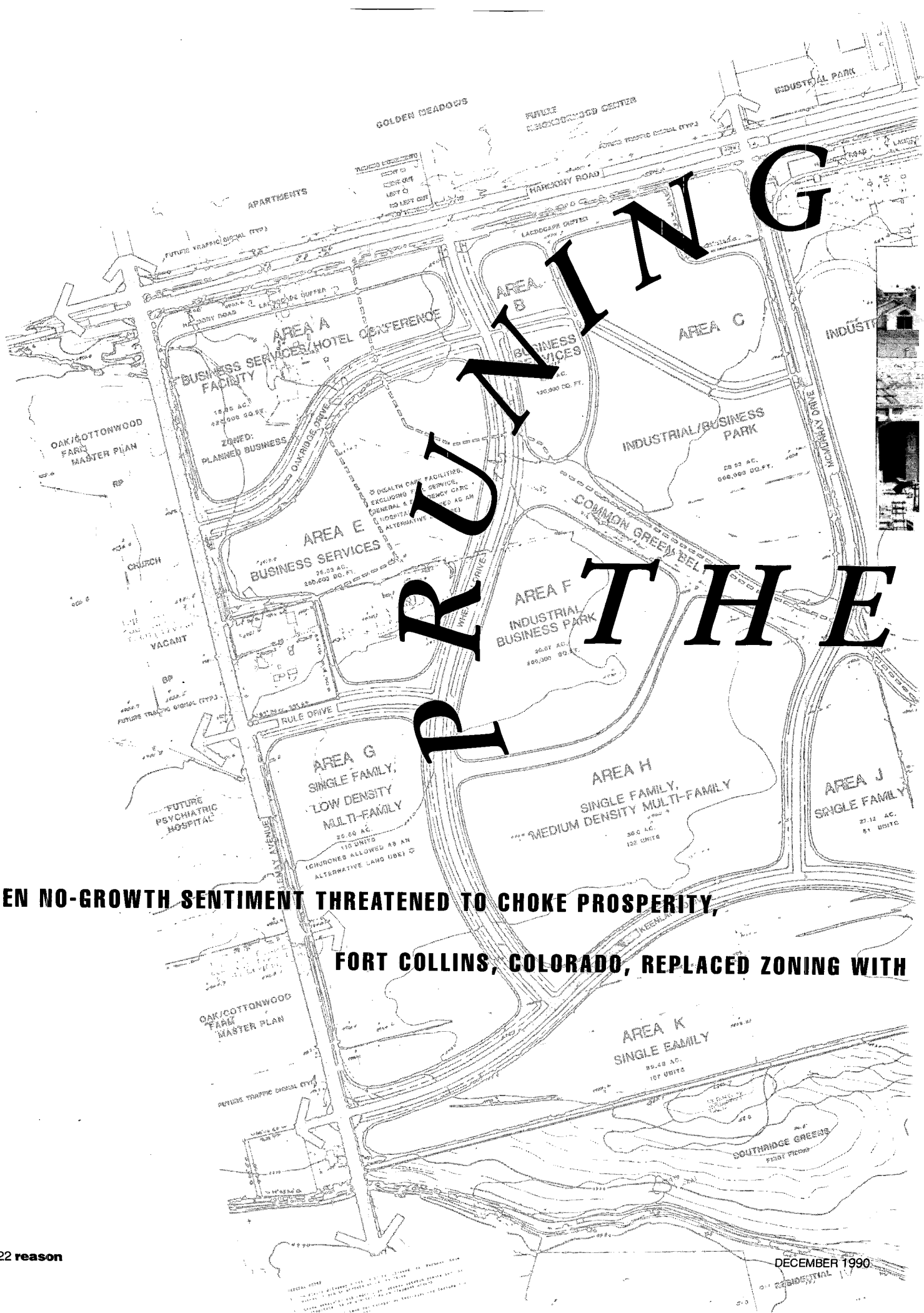
❑ My check is enclosed (payable to **Liberty**)
❑ Charge my ❑ VISA ❑ Mastercard Expires _____

Account # _____

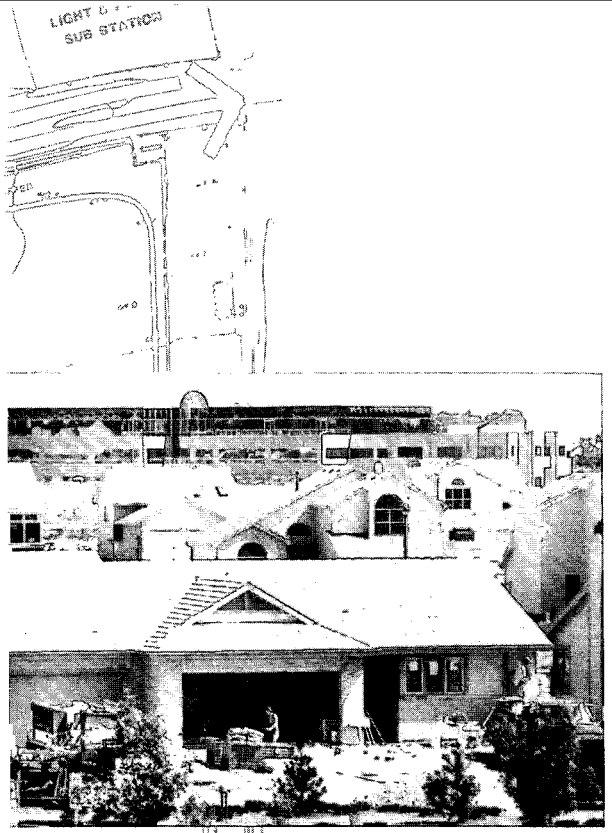
Signature _____

Send to: Liberty, Dept RQ, PO Box 1167, Port Townsend, WA 98368

PRUNING THE



WHEN NO-GROWTH SENTIMENT THREATENED TO CHOKE PROSPERITY, FORT COLLINS, COLORADO, REPLACED ZONING WITH



PLAN

A HOME-GROWN HYBRID.

BY WILLIAM D. EGGERS

"I WANT TO STOP GROWTH COLD IN ITS tracks and then send every city councilman to live in Los Angeles," declares Tom McKenna, an activist in Fort Collins, Colorado. A fiery man in his mid-50s with a chestnut-red complexion and small, piercing eyes, McKenna has lived in Fort Collins for 18 years. He seems to have been fiercely unhappy about the city's growth for at least 15 of these.

McKenna has an idiosyncratic view of property rights. "The only right that the property owner of a vacant lot has is to continue the use as a vacant lot," he argues. After a pause, he continues in a more generous vein: "He can put up a home similar to mine."

McKenna is not just a slow-growther upset by an increase in traffic. He is very serious about being opposed to all growth, whether in Fort Collins, the United States, or the Third World. Growth brings people, and McKenna doesn't like that. "Americans shouldn't have more than two children. If somebody produces 10 children, that's outrageous. And three, he should have social censure."

McKenna is not alone. There are people like him involved in growth-control organizations throughout the country, and their numbers and influence are increasing. The slow-growth movement, though almost entirely a white, middle- or upper-class phenomenon, has brought together some strange bedfellows. Leftist greens fight alongside communitarian conservatives, population-control zealots, two-car suburbanites, and closet racists.

They all have different agendas: The greens

want to conserve resources, get people out of cars and onto bikes. The communitarians dislike modernity and commercialization; they long for a simpler time when people tilled the soil of their own land. The population controllers don't want to see any more people. Anywhere. The suburbanites are upset about urban sprawl and traffic congestion. And the covert and overt racists want to keep low-income housing and minorities out of their towns. Although their motivations are different, their solution is the same: Stop or limit growth, regardless of the economic consequences.

Many cities have responded to growth pressures and slow-growth movements by adopting stifling land-use regulations. In California, for example, voters have approved 70 out of 76 local growth-control initiatives proposed during the last two and a half years. In 1986 San Francisco residents passed an ordinance that allows only 475,000 square feet of office space (one or two buildings) to be built each year. Numerous growth-control measures have been passed in the Los Angeles area as well. "A decade ago," planning consultant William Fulton relates in *Governing* magazine, "virtually no one in the Southern California megalopolis lived under growth restrictions. Now most people in the region accept them as a way of life."

But in McKenna's town, Fort Collins, the city planners took a different approach. They abandoned Euclidean zoning in favor of a land-use system that allows the market to work. Instead of strictly segregating uses, the Land Development Guidance System aims to control the negative effects of growth. No use is automatically ruled out because it fails to conform with someone's preconceived idea of what the city should look like in two decades.

The LDGS is certainly not laissez faire. But it is a step toward recognizing the role of property owners in determining the use of their own land. Although zoning is not going to disappear anytime soon, the Fort Collins system is beginning to inspire communities to take a more flexible approach to land use. Despite the success of the LDGS, however, it faces opposition from those, like McKenna, who would like greater political control.

THE HOME OF COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY, FORT Collins is located at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, about an hour's drive north of Denver. A city of a little more than 90,000, it seems much smaller. Five miles from the shopping centers, fast-food restaurants, and small office buildings of the city, you can see cows grazing.

Like many Western cities and towns during the oil-boom years, Fort Collins experienced rapid growth in the 1970s. The sleepy college town ballooned from a population of 43,337 in 1970 to 70,000 a decade later. Along with increased prosperity and opportunities, the city experienced some of the side effects that growth can bring—increases in crime, traffic congestion, and air pollution, as well as development that longtime residents considered slipshod.

By the late '70s, many residents were frustrated by the changes and fearful of what the future would bring. In 1979 these tensions came to a head when McKenna led a fight to pass a controversial city growth-control ordinance that would have placed a moratorium on new building permits. The proposal created a panic among local merchants and business leaders, whose livelihoods depended on the city's continued growth and prosperity. They fought back, and the initiative was defeated by a 2-to-1 margin.

Former Mayor Chuck Mabry, at the time a young city planner, says the ordinance's defeat sent a message to the city council and the planning staff that "the community was not interested in limiting the quantity of growth but was interested in managing the quality of growth." The planning staff, a young group of seven who were enthusiastic and open to new ideas, set out to devise a land-use system that would meet the wishes of the community.

Such a mission conjures up images of city planners dictating everything from the flooring of one's basement to the color of one's roof. But heavy-handed government regulation was not what the planning staff had in mind.

The planners would base the new system on a few basic principles: First, any land use can be made compatible with any other use through good design and buffering. They believed that the philosophy of conventional zoning, which holds that different uses should be completely separated from each other, is fundamentally flawed. Indeed, mixed use is good for a community.

Second, land-use regulations needed to be changed to support private decisionmaking. Third, the city should clearly identify its overall goals but let the private sector determine how to meet those goals.

Former Mayor Chuck Mabry, TOP, recognized that Fort Collins wanted to manage growth, not stop it. Planning Director Tom Peterson, CENTER, is a dynamic spokesman for the city's market-oriented measures. Still, no-growthers like Ward Luthi, BOTTOM, want to restore top-down zoning.

FORT COLLINS COLORADOAN

Fourth, landscape architecture should be incorporated into the land-use process through a system of incentives. Finally, rejecting the "planner's fatal conceit," the city recognized that consumers can determine land uses better than the government.

Joe Frank, a planner at the time and now assistant planning director, recalls that "just about everybody was ready to drop zoning." The citizens were dissatisfied because it had failed to produce quality development or protect the environment. Developers were angry because the zoning process was very political and the constant delays associated with rezonings cost them a lot of money. The planning staff viewed Euclidean zoning as restrictive, arbitrary, and illogical. It was plain that the Fort Collins zoning map, drawn in 1929 and updated in the 1960s, did not fit the needs of a city of 90,000 with a large demand for multifamily dwellings.

So the planners designed the Land Development Guidance System, based on a point scheme that permits developers to propose any land use on any parcel of property. Under the LDGS, a developer must meet 46 "absolute impact criteria," which cover effects such as traffic congestion, noise, and shadows. The developer must also meet most of 65 "performance criteria," which include factors such as pedestrian convenience and access to public transportation. The city assigns different multipliers to the developer's score on each criterion depending on the nature of the project and its location. Developers can meet the criteria in whatever way best suits their plans and their customers' needs.

Traces of the planner's conceit remain. The performance and impact criteria and the multipliers attached to them are based on a set of "community goals and aspirations" defined by the government. While many of the LDGS criteria deal with negative effects such as pollution and increases in traffic congestion, some have to do with things that the planners would like to promote, such as attractive landscaping. The system tends to blur the distinction between protecting residents from costs imposed by developers and providing residents with benefits at the expense of developers—a practice that opens the door to a potentially endless list of demands.

Still, although the city's emphasis on aesthetics can be intrusive, developers prefer the LDGS to the old zoning system. The system is predictable, far more so than politicized zoning. And by stressing quality of design, the LDGS has softened no-growth sentiments. Developers consider compliance with the new criteria an acceptable tradeoff for the increased flexibility and control they now have.

Planning Director Tom Peterson, who moved to Fort Collins from Anchorage, Alaska, four years ago, is a veteran of no-growth battles—particularly during a tour of duty as a planning director in New Jersey. "Over the last 50 years, the planning profession has become very regulatory," Peterson notes. "There is a big difference in what Fort Collins is doing. We're taking a giant step towards recognizing the efficacy of the market."

ALTHOUGH PETERSON WASN'T AROUND AT THE CONCEPTION of the LDGS, he has quickly become one of its most dynamic spokesmen, traveling around the country to talk to fellow planners. Fort Collins has received requests from thousands of cities for details about the LDGS. Even government officials from Norway, including the mayor of Oslo, have journeyed to Fort Collins to see how the LDGS has performed.

The system's record is impressive. Since the LDGS was instituted, the city has not been involved in any land-use lawsuits. There have been only 30 appeals to the city council in close to 10 years. Property-tax rates have remained low and were even cut last year. The time involved in reviewing development applications has decreased from 7–9 months to 7–14 weeks. Administrative review can cut the wait down to three weeks for developments whose general parameters were set in earlier master plans.

Houses and offices built under the LDGS fit the environment around them. The office buildings look like residences; multifamily dwellings are tucked in among trees; gas stations are made of solid brick.

After a couple days in town I became adept at distinguishing the pre- and post-LDGS buildings. The houses and offices built under the LDGS fit in much better with the environment around them; they are better landscaped, more attractive, and built of superior material. The office buildings look like residences; multifamily dwellings are tucked in among trees or interspersed with large expanses of open space; and the gas stations and convenience stores are made of solid brick.

The city planners attribute this improvement in the quality of architectural design to their prodding. Certainly the streamlining of land-use approval has enabled architects and developers to pay more attention to details that appeal to passers-by. In any case, once the LDGS had been in place for a time, developers began coming in with better designs on their own initiative. Now building and landscape designers are competing to serve developers, who are competing for buyers and tenants by making their projects more attractive.

More important, Fort Collins has proved that mixed use can work. One would be hard pressed to find a section of the city developed post-LDGS in which residents are not living within walking distance of retail outlets, offices, and parks or playgrounds. With neighborhood shopping centers scattered throughout the city, children can walk or bike to the store. In

modern suburbia, where houses and commercial districts are separated by considerable distances, this step up the ladder of adolescent maturity is often impossible.

Mixed use is important for several reasons. Prohibiting a mix of commercial and residential uses can contribute to sterile, lifeless downtown areas and leave bedroom communities vacant during the day. By contrast, greater activity around the clock discourages crime and makes neighborhoods more hospitable. Furthermore, "if you prevent mixed use, it places a wedge between activities that may want to be nearer to each other. This can create travel problems," says Peter Gordon, associate dean of the University of Southern California School of Urban and Regional Planning. Increasing mixed use opens up more opportunities for people to live, work, and shop in the same vicinity. This decreases traffic congestion, thereby reducing vehicle emissions, the major source of air pollution in many urban areas.

The Oak Ridge Business and Residential Parks, at the more rural, southern end of Fort Collins, is a good example of the mixed use one finds throughout the city. A brand-new, luxury-home community is located a short walk from shimmering office buildings. A greenbelt that abuts nearly half of the development's lots will serve as a buffer to separate the areas when the development is finished. A bike ride away is the new Hewlett-Packard plant, set back a few hundred feet from the street and looking rather isolated amid acres of farmland. Many Hewlett-Packard employees regularly bike to work from Oak Ridge.

A few miles north, the Woodward-Governor plant—a factory that makes governors for motors—lies adjacent to apartment buildings and in front of single-family residential housing. The factory is barely noticeable from the street, thanks to elaborate landscaping on the plant's grounds, including lush vegetation and a stream that winds moat-like around the factory. Across the street from Woodward-Governor and buffered by a large lake lies Parkwood, one of Fort Collins's most exclusive residential communities.

In addition to promoting mixed use, the LDGS meets housing needs better than conventional zoning does because it lets developers respond to demand. A couple of years ago, there was a big demand for high-density housing, so multifamily dwellings sprang up all over town. Now the demand is moving toward large luxury houses, so that's what the developers are building. The city's housing options range from trailer parks and inexpensive apartments to $700,000-and-up estate homes. Because of the variety of housing in the city, all sorts of people live here—ranging from leather-skinned, Marlboro-man types to upscale yuppies from California and the East.

Although the initial success of the LDGS mollified the no-growth forces in Fort Collins for a few years, the movement has re-formed and added to its ranks. McKenna is once again feverishly dispatching letters to the local newspaper, vilifying "greedy developers," real estate brokers, bankers, and the city council for generating population growth. Although Fort Collins's growth has slowed to a few percentage points a year, the slow-growthers appear stronger than ever, and one of their main targets is the Land Development Guidance System.

THE ANTIGROWTH MOVEMENT IS FED BY NEIGHBORHOOD protests against specific projects. Increasingly, the citizen groups are demanding step-by-step involvement in individual land-use decisions. Among the more sophisticated of the neighborhood groups is the Prospect-Shields Association, which has been involved in at least one development controversy a year. It's said that if an architect with a map is seen anywhere near the neighborhood, members of the group are immediately on the phone to city hall to complain. These residents miss what they remember as the security and predictability of zoning.

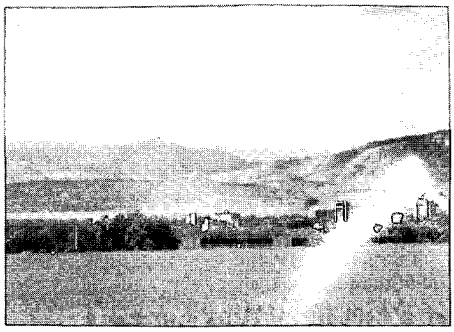
It's said that if an architect is seen anywhere near one particular neighborhood, antigrowth residents are immediately on the phone to city hall to complain.

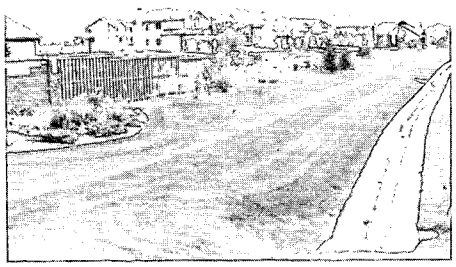
"The LDGS places too much faith in the market system to determine what developments should take place and where," writes Hal Worth in the Prospect-Shields Association's evaluation of the LDGS. "Vacancy rates in multiunit housing, office buildings, and shopping centers are at an all-time high. And even in the face of these grossly negative economic signals, approvals for further development of like kind continue apace under the laissez-faire climate of the LDGS." The report concludes: "Obviously, at some point in time such unbridled entrepreneurial initiative ceases to be in the public interest."

For growth-control advocates like Worth, the bad investments of some developers are evidence of the market's failure. The city's planners argue that the surplus of space is merely a market fluctuation. They figure it's not their job to make developers' business decisions. The office space will fill up, they say: It just takes a little patience. "We have trust in the market," says Joe Frank, the assistant planning director. "It takes faith in the market, and we have seen that the market takes care of itself. It has worked in these last 10 years."

If nothing else, the market is good at rewarding those who respond appropriately to demand and punishing those who don't. The notion that government can serve this role more effectively has been discredited throughout the communist world, yet it still holds sway within the antigrowth movement.

Not surprisingly, those who do not trust voluntary transac-





Picturesque Fort Collins, TOP, became a boom town in the 1970s. Streamlined land-use rules enable developers to pay attention to aesthetics, CENTER. Oak Ridge Village gently mixes residential, commercial, and industrial uses.

tions to coordinate supply and demand do not trust them to locate developments, either. Some residents of Fort Collins simply dislike the idea of mixed use, regardless of how it looks. The notion that any two uses can be made compatible through design and buffering scares them—they picture a glue factory in the vacant field across the street.

The city's decision to abandon rigid separation of land uses has indeed had unforeseen consequences for some residents. Art Judson, a retired National Forest Service glaciologist, became involved in the slow-growth movement when a developer decided to build an enormous discount store called Pace Wherehouse on vacant land near his home.

Pace was originally supposed to go up on the southern end of College Avenue, the city's main drag. But neighborhood opposition—motivated, in part, by the site's location on wetlands—convinced the developer to relocate the building to a more rural location a half mile away. The move stirred up another hornet's nest among residents near the new site. The developer ultimately built the place after buying off some of the protesting neighborhood associations, but many opponents remained unhappy, including Judson.

Next to Judson's ranch house is a wide, relatively unspoiled expanse. Set against the backdrop of Pikes Peak, the prairie is broken up by a running stream with a quaint wooden bridge. Across the street, about two football fields away from Judson's house and looking quite the neighborhood bully, stands the massive Pace Wherehouse.

Escorted by Judson's wife into the living room, I am once again treated to an unimpeded, breathtaking view of the Rockies. Judson is a handsome man in his mid-60s who could pass for 10 years younger. His face is tanned and marked by deep lines, the result of decades of outdoor work in the unforgiving Western sun.

It is impossible not to empathize with Judson. He doesn't come across as a misanthrope, a radical environmentalist, or a racist. He moved West from upstate New York 45 years ago to escape the bumper-to-bumper traffic, frenzied lifestyle, and dense populations of the East. Now he is a true Westerner. "In the West, space is a way of life," he says. He repeatedly laments the loss of the frontier—the dearth of "places in America where you can have quiet, space, and peace."

JUDSON WOULD LOVE TO SEE GROWTH come to an abrupt halt, but he is pragmatic. "I don't think that there is much of a case for having no growth at all, but there's also not much of a case for unbridled growth," he says. Judson wants the city to protect his magnificent view—a reasonable request, he figures, from a taxpaying, law-abiding resident of 42 years. The problem is that neither Judson nor the city owns the empty fields surrounding his house. He has enjoyed all this beautiful land free of charge for all these years, and he's not about to pay for the privilege now.

Judson says the city should be doing more to ensure the preservation of neighborhoods. Yet private arrangements can do a pretty good job of this without zoning. My conversation with Judson is interrupted when Hal Swope, president of the neighborhood homeowners' association, drops by with a contract for Judson to sign. The document, a private land-use covenant signed by all 93 property owners in the neighborhood, is up for renewal.

It turns out that most people in Fort Collins are protected by some form of private covenant. These contracts forbid land uses that the parties to the agreement consider undesirable; they may also set standards for home and grounds maintenance. A local real estate broker reports that all the new developments in Fort Collins incorporate such contracts. By requiring home buyers to sign restrictive covenants as a condition of purchase, developers protect the neighborhood's property values and reduce the risks of investing in a home.

But many people feel these legal, voluntary restrictions are not enough. They want the extra protection afforded by zoning. After all, Judson reasons, the neighborhood covenant didn't prevent Pace Wherehouse from going up. I ask Swope whether the homeowners' association had ever considered purchasing the land or the development rights to the property. He laughs. The association, he says, has enough trouble getting its members to pay their $25 annual dues.

FORT COLLINS PLANNING DEPARTMENT, WILLIAM EGGERS

JUDSON'S NEIGHBOR ACROSS THE STREET IS A MEMBER of Citizen Planners, an upstart activist group. Formed as a result of the Pace Wherehouse controversy, the organization has emerged as a major force in city growth battles. All but one of the six members I met with seemed to be in their 30s or early 40s, and most had not lived in Fort Collins very long. Environmentally "aware," they belong to organizations such as Greenpeace and the Sierra Club.

Ward Luthi, the chief spokesman for Citizen Planners, is a thin wilderness guide in his 30s with a mop of disheveled, frizzy hair. He talks of making Fort Collins energy self-sufficient, of reducing the use of fossil fuels, and of the "need for people to change their basic way of living." To Luthi, growth means traffic congestion, air pollution, and environmental degradation.

In the course of an hour, Luthi and his committed band of growth-control environmentalists present a confused philosophy riddled by contradictions. One moment they are blasting Fort Collins Inc., an organization funded by local businessmen to promote the city, for attracting industry—and with it, people and pollution—to Fort Collins. In the next breath, they complain that there aren't enough good jobs in the city. They want to get people out of their cars yet are against mixed use. They complain about industrial water pollution yet scoff at strengthening private water rights—because, Luthi says, "no one owns the water. No one owns the land. We are all just custodians."

Antigrowth activist Ward Luthi speaks of the "need for people to change their basic way of living." Growth to him means traffic congestion and environmental degradation.

More to the point, proposals aimed at mitigating the negative effects of development undermine the basic premise of the antigrowth movement: that growth per se is bad. "Show me a place with high population growth, and I'll show you a place that is struggling and failing to even maintain the existing quality of life," says McKenna, Luthi's chief competitor for growth-control king of Fort Collins.

Luthi cites the work of Amory Lovins and his staff at the Rocky Mountain Institute, which argues that growth eventually ravages a community. "Human growth after maturity is cancer," writes Michael Kinsley, the institute's vice president (no relation to the "Crossfire" host). "When a town continues to grow after maturity, its cancer is manifest in the many ways we see and feel our community deteriorating."

Not everyone buys this theory. "The no-growthers are coming from a false premise—that there can be zero growth," says Mabry, the former mayor. "There is no such thing as zero population growth—no keeping it the same....I've seen too many communities experience population loss. Go to eastern Colorado and talk to them about the advantages of growth versus no growth."

And, in fact, Fort Collins isn't growing all that fast. Its growth spurt actually took place more than a decade ago. While the city's population is increasing at a modest 2 percent to 3 percent a year today, in 1976 Fort Collins had the fourth highest growth rate among the nation's metropolitan areas.

The city now has the Lincoln Center, which attracts performers whom residents 20 years ago would never have dreamed of seeing in Fort Collins. Local businessmen no longer have to drive more than an hour to Denver to buy a nice tie. And even the no-growthers concede that the quality of development has increased substantially since the LDGS was adopted.

Despite all this, the chorus of growth-control voices continues. "The no-growthers would like more control than is realistic in a democracy," says Frank Vaught, the architect for Pace Wherehouse. He talks about "vigilante-type neighborhood opposition" and describes one neighborhood meeting where off-duty police officers were needed to maintain order.

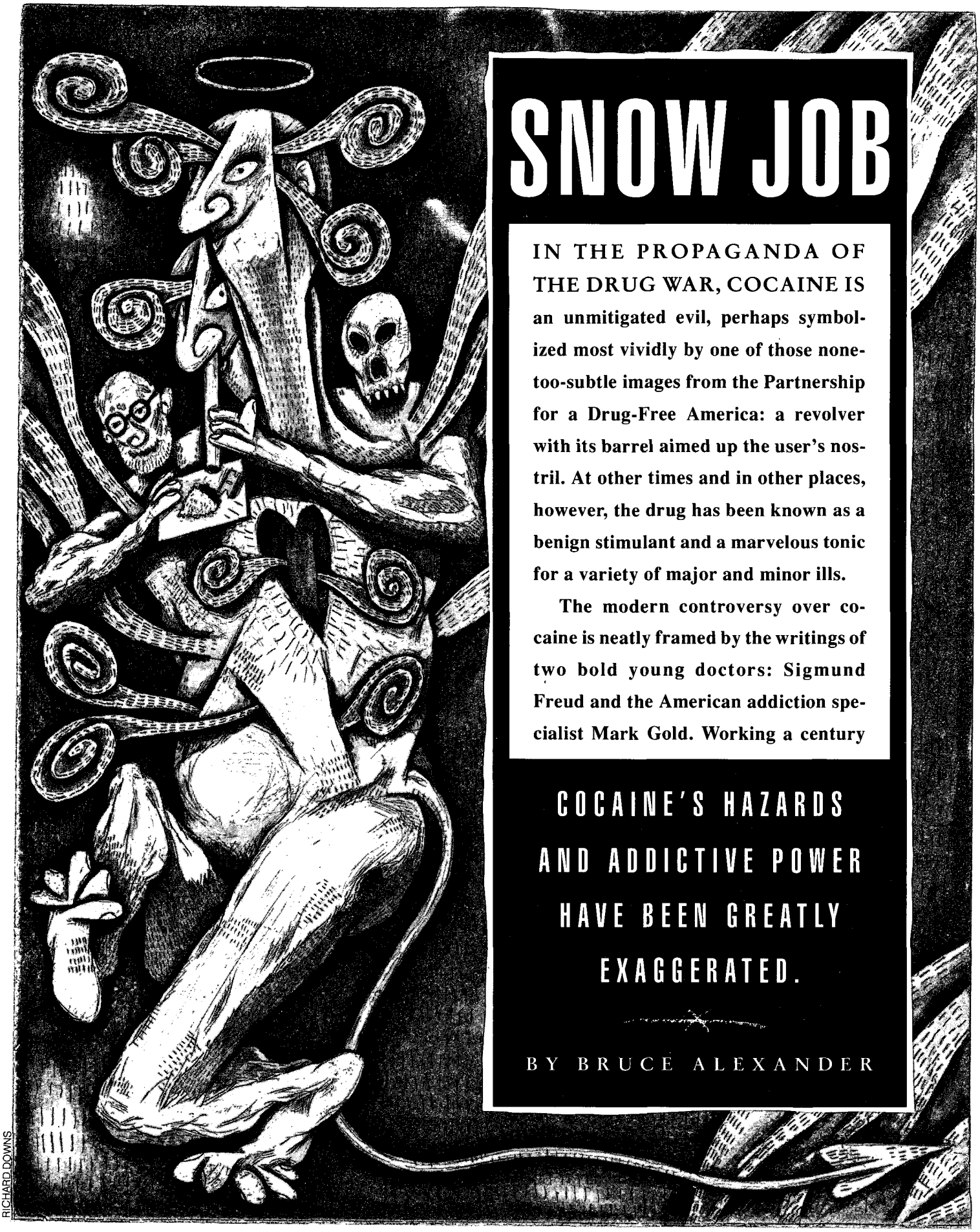
Although the Fort Collins Land Development Guidance System hasn't pleased everyone, it has provided a way of addressing the legitimate concerns of those who have qualms about growth.

And so far the LDGS has stood up fairly well to these political pressures. But its purity and objectivity are in danger of being undermined. The heat is beginning to take its toll on the people who oversee the system. "The planning board is moving more in the direction of policy, and there is a tendency to look at regulations," acknowledges Peterson, the planning director. If the planning staff continues to flirt with command-and-control regulations to appease the vocal no-growthers, the LDGS may become less a guide to development and more an iron rule.

As F.A. Hayek observed: "If man is to do no more harm than good in his efforts to improve the social order, he will have to learn that...where essential complexity of an organized kind prevails, he cannot acquire the full knowledge which would make mastery of the events possible. He will therefore have to use what knowledge he can achieve, not to shape the results as a craftsman shapes his handiwork, but rather to cultivate a growth by providing the appropriate environment, as the gardener does for his plants."

With the LDGS, Fort Collins's planners have provided the environment. The best thing they can do for the city now is to sit back, put their feet up, and continue to let the marketplace do the planning. ■

William D. Eggers, a former Reason Foundation research fellow, is a research associate at the Heritage Foundation.



SNOW JOB

IN THE PROPAGANDA OF THE DRUG WAR, COCAINE IS an unmitigated evil, perhaps symbolized most vividly by one of those none-too-subtle images from the Partnership for a Drug-Free America: a revolver with its barrel aimed up the user's nostril. At other times and in other places, however, the drug has been known as a benign stimulant and a marvelous tonic for a variety of major and minor ills.

The modern controversy over cocaine is neatly framed by the writings of two bold young doctors: Sigmund Freud and the American addiction specialist Mark Gold. Working a century

COCAINE'S HAZARDS AND ADDICTIVE POWER HAVE BEEN GREATLY EXAGGERATED.

BY BRUCE ALEXANDER

RICHARD DOWNS

apart, Freud and Gold both established their reputations by investigating the effects of cocaine. Both were skilled physiologists who undertook the study of cocaine soon after they left medical school. But their conclusions about the drug are diametrically opposed. Indeed, it is at first difficult to believe that they are describing the same substance.

Gold, a former member of the psychiatry department at Yale Medical School who now directs private hospitals in Florida and New Jersey, considers cocaine terribly addicting for experimental and recreational users. Freud, on the other hand, believed that cocaine addiction is rare and confined largely to people already addicted to other drugs. Gold maintains that nonaddictive use of cocaine is useless and dangerous, but Freud thought it medically harmless and beneficial. While Gold calls for warlike drug-control measures to combat the cocaine menace, Freud eagerly explored the drug as a potential blessing to humanity.

Although current conventional wisdom supports Gold's position, the bulk of modern clinical, experimental, and historical evidence indicates that Freud was closer to the truth on the first two issues. On the third issue, both Freud and Gold are wrong. It turns out that cocaine is neither a terrible scourge nor a great boon. Simply put, it's not nearly as important as it's made out to be.

Gold maintains that nonaddictive use of cocaine is useless and dangerous, but Freud thought it medically harmless and beneficial. While Gold calls for warlike drug-control measures to combat the cocaine menace, Freud eagerly explored the drug as a potential blessing to humanity.

THE DATA ON COCAINE USE TEND TO SUPPORT FREUD'S VIEW OF THE DRUG'S addictive potential rather than Gold's. In spite of widespread availability and declining prices, most people never use cocaine; of those who do, most use it only once or a few times; of those who become casual or regular users, most do not become dependent or addicted; of those who become dependent or addicted, most return to moderate use or voluntarily abstain without treatment; and of those whose addiction becomes serious enough to require treatment, most had lives that were marked by severe alienation or misfortune before they first used cocaine. None of this is intended to deny the horrors of severe addiction to cocaine, but rather to challenge the view that these horrors prove cocaine is a highly addictive drug.

Whatever the drug's power, the vast majority of Americans have managed to resist it. Cocaine use appears to have peaked by 1979, leveling off in the early 1980s. The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse indicates that at the peak, less than 10 percent of Americans had ever used cocaine and less than 2 percent had used it even once in the year in which they were surveyed.

The "addictive liability" of a drug is not a precisely defined term, but it should be reflected in the difficulty that people have in terminating use. When the National Institute on Drug Abuse questioned high-school seniors who were considered recent users of cocaine in 1983, 3.8 percent reported that they had tried to stop using cocaine and found they could not. By comparison, 18 percent of cigarette smokers reported that they were unable to give up tobacco. Other American surveys of more geographically limited populations have produced similar results.

Taken together, the survey data indicate that cocaine is used by a minority of Americans and that only a small fraction of this minority uses very much. Of course, general population data like these tell little about special populations, such as school dropouts, in which more people may use cocaine and a higher proportion may become addicted.

In addition to the surveys, there have been a few studies of cocaine users who were located through advertising or personal networks. Since these samples were not randomly selected, they do not represent all cocaine users. They do, however, tend to provide more in-depth information on users than do random surveys because the participants, as volunteers, are unlikely to conceal information from the interviewers. Subjects in these studies generally report considerable control over their patterns of use. They often use the drug casually for years without progressing to heavy use, and when use does get out of hand, they are able to cut back or stop.

(There is a recognizable sequence of reactions after a binge of heavy use, including a dramatic "crash." However, cocaine does not produce physical withdrawal symptoms comparable to those that follow heavy use of alcohol, barbiturates, or opiates. Indeed, authorities differ on whether the aftermath of heavy cocaine use should be called "withdrawal symptoms" at all.)

The number of clients seeking help for cocaine problems in the United States and Canada increased substantially during the late '70s and '80s. But this does not necessarily indicate that cocaine is an especially addictive drug. It is just as likely that some of the disturbed people who were previously apt to receive treatment for alcoholism or other types of deviance

started using cocaine as the drug became popular and relatively abundant.

Clients who identify cocaine as their primary problem are likely to be abusing a number of other drugs at the same time. Drug addicts, including those addicted to cocaine, tend to suffer from anxiety, depression, hyperactivity, and other serious behavioral problems before becoming addicted. Therefore, it's likely that the people who are treated for cocaine addiction would be in other kinds of trouble if they did not have access to cocaine.

DRUG WARRIORS OFTEN CITE STUDIES OF LABORATORY ANIMALS AS EVIDENCE OF COCAINE'S UNIQUE addictive power. When animals are given intermittent opportunities to self-administer cocaine in the laboratory, there is little evidence that cocaine is highly addictive. Many different mammalian species have been tested, and some members of each will press levers to inject themselves with cocaine. The amounts they self-administer are moderate and controlled. If the concentration of the injected solution is raised, the animals generally respond proportionately less, and if it is lowered they respond proportionately more. There are signs of stimulation from the drug, but convulsions from overdoses are rare. It seems that mammals find the drug pleasantly stimulating but naturally maintain the stimulation at a safe level.

Researchers who make cocaine available to animals around the clock, however, report indications that the drug is highly addictive. In one experiment, three monkeys were put in cages where they were allowed to press only one of two levers—one producing an infusion of cocaine, the other producing food pellets—every 15 minutes. During the eight-day experiment, all three monkeys chose cocaine almost exclusively. Even on trials where they did not choose cocaine, the monkeys did not press the food lever. The animals lost weight and displayed strange, stereotyped behaviors. In other experiments, monkeys and rats have self-administered cocaine over periods of several days until they died of convulsions.

Such research is often interpreted as reflecting the fate of human beings if cocaine were freely available. Psychiatrist Sidney Cohen of UCLA has stated: "Under conditions of access to large amounts of cocaine the human response remarkably resembles that of the laboratory animal. Cocaine-dependent humans prefer it to all other activities. They will continue using until they are exhausted or the cocaine is depleted....All laboratory animals can become compulsive cocaine users. The same might be said of humans."

But generalizing from the results of animal studies is dubious for many reasons. To begin with, monkeys are gregarious, active, curious animals, with a great resistance to being handled or restrained. The same is true of wild rats and, to a lesser extent, of their laboratory-bred descendants. Cocaine self-administration studies isolate such creatures in small cages, where they are surgically implanted with a catheter and tethered 24 hours a day to the injection apparatus. There is virtually nothing for these creatures to do in their solitary confinement but press a lever on the wall that produces temporary euphoric stimulation.

There's little reason to think that these animals would consume as much cocaine in a more natural habitat. In fact, recent data indicate that rats housed in isolation self-inject much more cocaine in daily tests than rats housed more naturally in groups between tests. The observable behavior of both animals and humans in their natural environments runs contrary to the insatiable cocaine consumption of isolated animals in the laboratory. Moreover, the failure of animals to eat in some experiments may simply be due to the fact that cocaine is a potent appetite suppressant.

IT'S WIDELY REPORTED IN THE NEWS MEDIA AND MEDICAL LITERATURE THAT SMOKABLE COCAINE is much more addictive than snorted cocaine hydrochloride. Crack, in particular, is frequently said to be "instantly addictive" or the "most addictive drug on earth." Some eminent scholars take these claims about smokable forms of cocaine seriously. But others note that these claims are suspiciously similar to the unsubstantiated stories that were told about marijuana, glue, heroin, and cocaine hydrochloride when they first became matters of public concern.

Smokable cocaine reaches the bloodstream much faster than does nasally administered cocaine hydrochloride. This in itself does not prove that smokable cocaine is more addictive than other drugs. The speed with which smokable cocaine reaches the bloodstream is no greater than that with which smoked marijuana or nicotine (or intravenously injected cocaine hydrochloride) normally enters the bloodstream.

Pharmacologically, the effects of smoking crack should be similar to those of smoking coca leaves because the active ingredient, the cocaine alkaloid, is the same. Parke, Davis & Company introduced coca-leaf cigars and cigarettes in 1885, and other drug companies offered similar products, primarily as treatments for respiratory infections. Although cocaine in general was gaining a bad reputation in this period, no one claimed that these smokable forms were especially addictive. In fact, some users publicly endorsed them as mild and effective remedies.

In spite of many media testimonials about the addictiveness of smokable cocaine, the only experimental evidence that I have found to support them comes from a single study on smoking coca paste in Lima, Peru. The subjects were all described as nondependent, "occasional" users. All subjects (the total number does not appear in the report) became anxious before smoking, all expressed an "extreme desire" for alcohol during the experimental sessions, and two reported "an inability to resist smoking" during the sessions. Nonetheless, all subjects must have resisted smoking enough to stop voluntarily, since no injuries or deaths were reported, even though the subjects were allowed as much coca paste as they wanted during two of the three experimental sessions in which each participated.

There is no statistical evidence of widespread use of crack

or any other form of smokable cocaine in North America. In the United States, 5.6 percent of high-school seniors surveyed in 1987 had ever used crack (as compared to 15.2 percent for all forms of cocaine). Only 1.5 percent reported use in the 30 days preceding the interview (as compared to 4.3 percent for cocaine in general). Thus, crack did not cause "instant addiction" in the great majority of people who tried it.

A study in Miami found that juvenile delinquents generally preferred cocaine hydrochloride to crack, because its effects last longer. Many of them used crack in addition to cocaine hydrochloride, however, because it was sold in smaller, cheaper doses. The study also found that addiction to crack was rare among the subjects. Taken together, these data suggest that there is no difference in addictive liability between crack and cocaine hydrochloride.

THE DATA FROM SURVEYS, SELF-SELECTED USER STUDIES, CLINICAL STUDIES, AND ANIMAL EXperiments, together with the limited information available on smokable cocaine, provide no evidence that cocaine in any form has a high addictive liability or that we are experiencing an epidemic of cocaine use. The widespread belief that cocaine is extraordinarily addictive is based largely on subjective reports and anecdotal evidence. Although most people who experiment with cocaine subsequently use it intermittently and moderately, if at all, some report that they "cannot control" or "can't handle" cocaine, and must therefore abstain completely. Patients and hotline callers often describe cocaine as irresistibly addictive. It is unwarranted, however, to say that a drug has a high addictive liability if the great majority of people who have used it are not addicted, even if some of them find abstinence to be the best policy.

People who are inclined to become addicted to drugs tend to prefer cocaine, just as people who are likely to become obese or bulimic are more drawn to junk foods than to Brussels sprouts or turnips. Likewise, people who become compulsively religious are more apt to be involved in an evangelical sect or a trendy cult than in Presbyterianism. If we define addictive liability in terms of the preferences of addictive people among the available options, then cocaine is only one of hundreds of everyday substances and activities that is highly addictive.

Cocaine use is closer to a fad of conspicuous consumption than an epidemic of addiction. To call it a fad is not to trivialize it; fads exert powerful effects on people's motivations. One subgroup that has been caught up in the cocaine fad is adventurous, young, affluent adults. For many such people, "Coke is it." As with other expensive fads and fashions, the consequences for the great majority of participants are not dire, although a small fraction of the participants become addicted or suffer serious side effects.

Perhaps even more than the young and affluent, fads attract socially marginal people who seek magical remedies to their problems. Because their need is greater, they are more likely to use cocaine excessively. People who at other times in history would have become obsessed with marijuana, LSD, alcohol, sex, gambling, or political fanaticism became addicted to cocaine in the 1980s.

The idea that cocaine addicts are socially marginal runs counter to the media portrayal of "normal" people becoming addicted merely because of an ill-advised experiment. Yet some people who appear successful are inwardly disaffected and desperate. Throughout history disaffected and desperate people have fallen into compulsive involvements, chosen from the fashionable indulgences of the day.

ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER MODERATE USE OF COCAINE IS USEFUL AND HARMLESS, AS FREUD believed, or useless and harmful, as Gold maintains, Freud was again closer to the truth.

Heavy cocaine use can produce unwanted side effects, including hallucinations, feelings of paranoia, unpleasant tactile sensations called "coke bugs," repetitive behaviors, and severe depression. In the most extreme cases, the unwanted effects resemble a short-term paranoid psychosis accompanied by convulsions. In addition to these experiences, excessive use of cocaine sometimes damages the nasal tissues and kidneys. The great majority of cocaine users, however, take the drug in moderate amounts and experience positive effects. Some moderate users experience side effects, but they are generally minor.

Experimental and recreational users of cocaine do not feel "stoned"; they feel more competent and confident. It is possible that these perceived benefits are illusory, but many careful observers have reached the conclusion that cocaine helps people do simple tasks, especially when fatigued or hungry, and that it helps performers of various sorts achieve the confidence they need.

Cocaine measurably improves performance on simple physical tasks in North Americans who are fatigued or deprived of sleep. South American Indians working to the point of exhaustion also had slightly better endurance and higher heart rates when chewing coca leaves than on non-coca trials. There is also experimental evidence that chewing coca leaves affords some protection from exposure to the cold.

As in Freud's research, these modern studies suggest that cocaine is of little benefit to people who are well-rested. Contrary to Freud's observations, however, cocaine apparently does not help with complex mental or learning tasks.

The stimulation from a moderate dose of cocaine can be as useful as the lift from a cup of coffee, a short nap, or the satisfaction of a task well done. Of course, legal lifts seem more proper than cocaine highs. But outside the sheltered world of the well-fed and well-adjusted, for whom little naps and tasks well done are a realistic possibility, illegal highs may be a sensible recourse. Andean peasants used cocaine in this way for centuries without provoking alarm, until they fell under the searchlights of the war on drugs.

Negative effects are relatively uncommon among moderate cocaine users. About 17 percent of Ontarians who have used cocaine report that they either rarely or sometimes "become

violent or aggressive," and 23 percent report that they rarely or sometimes "feel that someone was out to get you" when they use cocaine. However, the remaining 83 percent and 77 percent of these Ontario cocaine users never have these reactions. These adverse effects are less common among infrequent users than among heavier users.

There is direct evidence that moderate doses of pure cocaine, administered intranasally, are reasonably safe. Cocaine is routinely applied intranasally in doses of 200 milligrams or more in nasal surgery. These doses are comparable to those typically taken by Canadian recreational cocaine users, and the peak blood levels of cocaine following medical administration are comparable to those found following doses that produce a "high" in experienced users. A survey of plastic surgeons revealed five deaths (.005 percent of the patients) and 34 severe, nonfatal reactions (.03 percent of the patients) following 108,032 applications of cocaine in surgery. Moderate injected doses of cocaine have also proved safe in experimental studies with human subjects.

There is no doubt that overdoses of cocaine can cause illness and death. The victims generally become excited and confused shortly after a large dose of cocaine and subsequently undergo convulsions, depression, coma, and, in severe cases, death from respiratory depression or, sometimes, heart failure. Overdose death usually occurs within a few hours. This syndrome has been well-documented in human beings since the 19th century and can be replicated in experimental animals.

Cocaine is a heart stimulant. The data indicate that even moderate doses could increase the risk of heart attacks in people who already have high blood pressure or severe heart damage. But instead of singling out cocaine as uniquely dangerous, these data place it squarely in the company of caffeine, alcohol, tobacco, sports, gambling, and sex.

THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT MODERATE DOSES ARE OFTEN FATAL. AFTER AN EXTENsive search of the literature, I have concluded that the widespread conviction that moderate use of cocaine is dangerous is based on horror stories that are accepted uncritically and on medical research that is misinterpreted because of the presuppositions of the war on drugs.

The misinterpretation of medical research entails each of the following errors: (1) exaggerating the amount of sickness and death that is associated with cocaine; (2) gratuitously assuming that people harmed by using cocaine are moderate rather than heavy users; (3) neglecting indications that medical emergencies that befall heavy cocaine users could just as well have resulted from their other drugs, activities, or pathologies; (4) gratuitously assuming that cocaine purchased by users who experience medical emergencies was unadulterated; and (5) ignoring the fact that many legal drugs and activities are just as dangerous as cocaine.

Since 1982, the Drug Abuse Warning Network (DAWN) has reported dramatic annual increases (up to 200 percent) in the frequency of "emergency room mentions" of cocaine relative to other illegal drugs in many of the 27 cities that it surveys. However, these DAWN data do not mean that cocaine has become a substantial health hazard. Cocaine is currently "mentioned" in only 2.6 out of every 1,000 emergency-room visits in the DAWN cities. A mention does not mean that a drug necessarily caused the emergency-room visit, since each report may mention several drugs detected in a patient. Moreover, the fact that a patient has used drugs does not necessarily mean that drugs have caused his or her illness. In addition, the DAWN cities do not represent the United States as a whole, which has a substantial rural and small-town population.

Similarly, although cocaine is currently mentioned in 14.4 of every 1,000 deaths reported by medical examiners in the DAWN cities, this does not mean that cocaine causes that proportion of American deaths. Medical examiners may mention several drugs in connection with a single death, so cocaine is certainly not the cause of them all. Most routine deaths are not reported to medical examiners, so this is hardly a sample of typical American deaths. Most important, there is no information in the DAWN studies to show that any significant proportion of the emergencies and deaths are related to moderate cocaine use, or that the "cocaine" used by any of the decedents was free of common black-market adulterants.

Nonetheless, cocaine is a heart stimulant. The data indicate that even moderate doses could increase the risk of heart attacks in people who already have high blood pressure or severe heart damage from other causes. But instead of singling out cocaine as uniquely dangerous, these data place it squarely in the company of a broad class of agents that includes caffeine, alcohol, tobacco, sports, gambling, and sex.

IT'S WIDELY ACCEPTED IN NORTH AMERICA THAT CRACK AND OTHER FORMS OF SMOKABLE COCAINE are especially dangerous. Some of the reports on which this

impression is based are simply false. For example, *USA Today* attributed 563 deaths to cocaine and crack in the first six months of 1986. After a careful study of the official government reports and available medical literature, Arnold Trebach, president of the Drug Policy Foundation, found that none of these deaths could be confirmed.

Some articles in medical journals claim that crack, free-base, coca paste, and other forms of smokable cocaine are significantly more harmful than cocaine hydrochloride. However, apart from the well-established fact that smokable cocaine reaches the bloodstream faster than orally or nasally administered cocaine, these articles offer little data to support this assertion. The authors seem to have relied on uncritical assumptions about evidence, including all five of the logical errors mentioned above.

I do not mean to claim that harm never results from moderate use of cocaine. All drugs, including cocaine, can hurt people. However, the existing research does not justify the claim that using cocaine in moderation is an unusually dangerous practice.

When a person dies as a result of jogging, playing squash, driving a car, or engaging in sexual intercourse, the event may lead people who engage in these activities to reassess the costs and benefits. It does not provide the occasion for a War on Jogging, a War on Squash, a War on Cars, or a War on Sex. The kind of research that has been taken as serious proof that cocaine regularly causes heart attacks and other dire consequences in moderate users only proves the existence of an extraordinary, warlike mentality. This kind of thinking forfeits a normally critical perspective to embrace spurious justifications for the war on drugs.

When a person dies as a result of jogging, playing squash, driving a car, or engaging in sexual intercourse, it does not provide the occasion for a War on Jogging, a War on Squash, a War on Cars, or a War on Sex. But the dangers of cocaine provoke an extraordinary, warlike mentality that sacrifices critical thinking.

THE THIRD DIFFERENCE IN THE OUTLOOKS OF GOLD AND FREUD IS THE TONE OF THEIR WRITINGS on cocaine. Gold discusses cocaine only in the context of pathology and control. Freud, by contrast, was uncharacteristically lyrical in his description of the drug and its effects. In his proposals that cocaine be used to cure most diseases and improve most human activities, Freud appeared to view the drug as a welcome benefactor and a savior from the stress of life.

Upon reflection, it is clear that both views are wrong. Contrary to Gold's view, cocaine cannot hurt us much. It is a drug that can be used in destructive ways, but it is very unlikely to lead to addiction or injury except in people who are already in deep trouble. The great majority of people who try cocaine find it possible to use it in a generally beneficial way or to leave it alone. The percentage of users who are harmed by it is probably comparable to the percentage who are harmed by other stimulating but socially acceptable activities.

Freud was also wrong. Cocaine is not the great chemical savior he thought it was—it is just a stimulant, and stimulants do little more than enable people to borrow from psychic reserves that have to be repaid later. Sometimes such loans are useful, even pleasurable, but they don't represent a net gain.

No drug can make people feel alert, healthy, and alive for very long. The only hope for a persistent sense of well-being is the patient cultivation of courage, honesty, friendship, realism, and hard work. The promises of the ancient homilies are far more valid than the magical promise that cocaine held out to Freud. Cocaine has potential medical applications that might be investigated further if not for the drug-war atmosphere, but there are no signs that it can be the panacea that Freud imagined.

In sum, cocaine neither causes the problems that wrack our times, nor can it rid us of them. Rather, the abundance of refined cocaine is yet another complexity of a technological age. It may improve our lives to a degree if we learn to use it wisely. But using it wisely could turn out to mean not using it at all.

In this century we have overreacted to the dangers of cocaine with a futile attempt to ban it from the world. This campaign stains the earth with blood and corrupts the fragile institutions of democracy. Worst of all, it diverts our attention from the real causes of the misery and conflict that surround us. Cocaine is not a significant source of crime, violence, addiction, heart disease, brain damage, unhealthy babies, student apathy, low productivity, or terrorism in the Third World. The real danger is the destructive illusion that we can relieve these deeply rooted problems by attacking cocaine. ■

Bruce Alexander is a professor of psychology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, British Columbia. This article is adapted from chapter five of his book Peaceful Measures: Canada's Way Out of the "War on Drugs" *(University of Toronto Press, 1990).*

ANNUAL BOOK SECTION

NEW GODS OR OLD IDOLS?

BY GLEN E. THUROW

The left finds itself in disarray today in world politics. The great hope placed in socialist and communist economics seems dashed as country after country, including the Soviet Union itself, turns toward freer markets to rescue itself from economic ruin. The governments that were to bring about the perfect social state have been revealed to be stultifying bureaucracies at their best and brutal tyrannies at their worst. If movements live and die by their results, one would think that the radical left would be in its death throes.

But when one looks at the theorists of the environmental movement, the phoenix appears to be rising from denuded forests. Diverse as these four books are, all have a common enemy. That enemy is not simply mistreatment of the environment, but the free economy and political institutions of the United States. Even more fundamentally, one finds in these books an attack on Western civilization, that tradition which finds its roots in Greek philosophy and biblical religion—in reason and in revelation.

Hitherto the attack on the United States and the West has been most powerfully expressed politically in Marxism. According to Marxism, reason is impotent before the forces of history and can only be understood as a rationalization of more fundamental materialistic realities. And revelation is but a tool in the hands of the ruling powers, used to support their oppression. Can this radical impulse to destroy the foundations of the West find a new home in the environmental movement?

It is clear that the environmental movement has many of the advantages of the "popular fronts" long used by radical political movements. Because concern for the environment is widespread, all kinds of people not at all attracted to radical causes can be brought to its support. The movement can even claim to be nonpolitical, or to have transcended old categories as in the slogan of the German Greens: "We are neither left nor right; we are in front." It has the additional advantages of being concerned with humanity as a whole rather than with the selfishness of states, and, with notable exceptions, of being a peaceful movement not particularly frightening to the average citizen.

In order to make environmentalism the home of radical politics, the most fundamental intellectual task required is to show that environmental problems are the result of the free market and the political institutions of the United States. To be truly radical, the environmental critique must tie these problems to the very roots of Western civilization. The second and third required tasks are to show that there is a better alternative and to point the way to move from our present circumstances to this better state.

Radical environmentalists must also jus-

Making Peace with the Planet, by Barry Commoner, New York: Pantheon Books, 292 pages, $19.98

Remaking Society, by Murray Bookchin, Montreal: Black Rose Books, 222 pages, $10.00 paper

Gaia: The Growth of an Idea, by Lawrence E. Joseph, New York: St. Martin's Press, 276 pages, $19.95

Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization, by Christopher Manes, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 291 pages, $18.95

tify the bad environmental records of socialist countries in order to make plausible the contention that free markets are the culprit. Each of these four books approaches these tasks in a different way. The four books together represent a good cross section of the range of views in today's left environmentalism.

Barry Commoner has for two decades been a leader in left environmentalism and has published numerous books and articles on the topic. His latest book, *Making Peace with the Planet*, is a repetition and summary of positions he has long held. A professed socialist, Commoner argues that environmental degradation can be traced to the profit motive within capitalism, which leads corporations to choose those productive technologies that bring the biggest short-term profit.

Environmental regulation by the government, Commoner argues, has not solved this fundamental problem because it does not control the source of environmental damage but only looks to repairing the damage once it occurs—a much harder and more expensive task. He devotes a large part of this book to showing that the environmental regulations of the past 20 years, and the huge costs associated with them, have achieved little improvement in the environment. It is only by governmental control of what is produced that real environmental improvement can be made. Government must prevent, not control, pollution, and this requires "social intervention in the hitherto private governance of production technology."

To make environmentalism the home of radical politics, intellectuals in the movement must link environmental problems with the free market—and with Western civilization itself.

Freed of the need to earn short-term profits, government can choose technologies that will be compatible with the environment. Commoner thus offers a simple solution for environmental problems: We need simply to change the goal of those governing technology in order to find and apply the technologies that will be nonpolluting.

Commoner's solution to environmental problems shows a naive faith both in government and in technology. Commoner assumes that governmental control of production decisions will result in decisions that take account of the distant social costs of production. But why should that be? That has not been the case in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, whose pollution record we now know to be horrendous. Commoner's explanation is that the socialist countries borrowed their technologies from the West, where they were created by the profit motive. The socialist countries need to create their own. Existing socialist economies, in other words, are really capitalist economies as far as their productive apparatus is concerned. One must give Commoner credit for the inventiveness with which he avoids letting the facts interfere with his love of socialism.

Commoner also believes that through proper technology we can have our cake and eat it too. We do not have to sacrifice any desire other than the desire to own and manage our own property in order to have a clean environment. Science and technology in the proper hands, with their fruits properly distributed, can show us not only how to clean up the environment but how to rid the earth of poverty and war as well. Commoner asks: Can we "produce bountiful harvests, productive machinery, rapid transportation, and decent human dwellings sufficient to support the world population without despoiling the environment?" His answer is an emphatic yes. No hard choices will be necessary in the socialist state.

This optimism is questioned by Murray Bookchin, who pushes Commoner's views to a deeper level in *Remaking Society*. Bookchin is emeritus director of the Institute for Social Ecology in Vermont and considers himself a "social ecologist" (as does Commoner). A social ecologist is one who believes that the root causes of environmental problems are to be found in the structures and institutions of existing society.

Like Commoner, Bookchin believes that environmental degradation is "*inherent* to capitalism, the product of its very law of life, as a system of limitless expansion and capital accumulation." Bookchin is clearer than Commoner in his outspoken opposition to the institutions of representative democracy as well.

To his credit, Bookchin sees that Marxism cannot easily form the theoretical ground for environmentalism. Marx had little love of nature. Marx viewed nature as " 'stingy,' 'blind,' or a cruel 'realm of necessity,' " and considered capitalism a great historical advance in "its ruthless capacity to destroy all restraints and limits on the ravaging of the natural world." In addition, in extolling the proletariat, Marx did not see that the proletariat would become "domesticated" by capitalists and hence lack environmental consciousness, among other things. A proletarian revolution would not be an environmental revolution.

Yet there remains a large element of Marxism in Bookchin's thought. Bookchin argues that the root of environmental degradation is the idea of human domination, whether over nature or over fellow humans. This idea is not the result of a general human preference for our own species, but is the product of certain kinds of human societies, particularly the modern capitalist state. Bookchin constructs a history of mankind to show that the original harmonious relationship between man and nature gave way to human dominance as a result of human social choices.

This view allows Bookchin to lump all kinds of domi-

EARTH FIRST! obviously forgot that Lincoln was affectionately called "the old rail-splitter."

UPI/BETTMANN

nance together—that of capitalists over society, of men over women, of the West over the Third World, of God over men, of corporations over the environment. And he hopes that this theoretical union can be turned into a practical union of all the dominated for the sake of revolution against existing society.

Although he has little faith in the proletariat and does not share Marx's contempt for nature, Bookchin does share the heart of Marxism—its yearning for a society free of all contradictions, in which people shall freely live in harmony with each other and with nature. The Marxist vision of a classless, noncoercive community in which the state shall have withered away is also that of Bookchin, but he adds to it an overlay whose roots can be traced to Rousseau.

Bookchin's history, like Rousseau's in the *Second Discourse*, begins with primitive men in harmony with nature. The two histories show how that primitive harmony becomes lost with the development of society. Unlike some of the "deep ecologists," Bookchin does not yearn for a return to the primitive. He rather believes that a good society would be a federation of "libertarian municipalities." Societies should be organized into cities that would be substantially smaller units than the modern state. These cities would be "libertarian" because there would be no coercive government (the state would wither away). Such cities would be governed by the "general will." Citizens would rule through "face-to-face assemblies," but they would have to act *as citizens*, not as individual men and women. "As citizens, they would function in such assemblies at their highest level—their *human* level—rather than as socially ghettoized beings. They would express their general human interests, not their particular status interest."

Where are we to get these citizens who will vote the general will, not their private interests and desires? Like Marx, Bookchin relies upon the progress of history to get us to this state, a progress that will have to make its decisive advance through a spontaneous uprising. There is absolutely nothing in Bookchin's argument, other than this faith in history's ability to transform (and thus dominate?) human nature, to guarantee that his environmental utopia will have an outcome any different from that of Marx's proletarian utopia: the dominance of tyrants and bureaucrats.

Although he may be closer to the deep ecologists than he sometimes seems to realize, Bookchin's argument is polemically directed against their movement. Deep ecologists argue that the environmental crisis can be traced to civilization itself, which is understood to rest on human claims to superiority over, and separation from, the rest of nature. Both *Gaia: The Growth of an Idea* and *Green Rage: Radical Environmentalism and the Unmaking of Civilization* may be placed within the deep ecology movement. The former is chiefly interesting for its religious implications, while the latter is an attack on the claims of human reason.

Lawrence Joseph is a science reporter whose work has appeared in the *New York Times* and elsewhere. *Gaia* is a report on the scientific theory, developed by the British atmospheric scientist James Lovelock and the American microbiologist Lynn Margulis, that the earth is a living organism in which living things interact with nonliving to maintain the conditions for life. Joseph's reportage is a chatty blend of analysis of the scientific evidence for the theory, descriptions of behind-the-scenes political maneuvering in science, invocations of ancient goddesses, and wide-ranging musings about the philosophical, religious, and practical implications of the theory. It is at times an entertaining and at times

an exasperating book.

Amidst this collage, the theme that Joseph returns to again and again is the resurrection of the ancient goddess, Gaia, by modern science. The book begins, "Daughter of Chaos and mother and lover of the sky (Uranus), the Mountain (Ourea), and the sea (Pontus), Gaia, Greek goddess of the Earth, has been reborn through modern science." Joseph seems to be fascinated by this possibility, while not quite certain whether to take it seriously. He will lead his reader in one direction, only to reverse his course on the next page.

The resurrection of pagan gods and goddess in the environmental movement is directed against Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, which allegedly teach that a dominating male God has given the earth to mankind to rule in order that men might subdue it to their own lust. The religion of Mother Earth, on the other hand, makes room for the feminine, teaches that mankind is but one species among many with no higher or lower status than any other, and insists that humans must live in symbiosis with the rest of nature. At the same time, it reaches across existing cultures, for nature is what is common among all peoples, of whatever religion. Many environmentalist Christians want to reinterpret Christianity to accommodate the resurrected goddess. Lovelock himself suggests, "What if Mary is another name for Gaia? Then her capacity for virgin birth is no miracle or parthenogenetic aberration, it is the role of Gaia since life began."

The acolytes of Gaia suggest a nuturing embrace between mankind and the rest of creation. Yet this view also at times presents a hatred of mankind.

The acolytes of Gaia at times suggest the picture of nature as nurturing, of a democratic embrace between mankind and the rest of creation, mirroring the proper relationship between man and man. Yet there is sometimes also present in this view a hatred of mankind. Might mankind be a disease in the living organism of the earth, polluting and destroying her being? Although he generally resists the temptation, Joseph sometimes backs into this view: "But the comparison with cancer's wildly disruptive proliferation, almost a parody of healthy reproduction, does seem a bit too close to dismiss easily."

While Joseph is at once excited by, and full of reservations about, the replacement of Western religion by the Earth Mother, Christopher Manes in *Green Rage* has no reservations about his passions. *Green Rage* is a defense of Earth First!, a group willing to use not only civil disobedience but sabotage (deemed "ecotage") to defend the ecology. Manes is a young environmentalist, formerly an associate editor of the journal *Earth First!*

The title of the book is meant to indicate that reason should be abandoned for rage, for it is "cool, rational minds who have helped bring the ecological crisis roaring down upon us." Manes sums up the tenets of radical environmentalism as "the persuasion that humankind is not the center of value on this planet, the conviction that the other species of Earth have just as much right to exist as humans do, the belief that wilderness and not civilization is the real world." But he insists that radical environmentalism is a sensibility, not a doctrine, based on a "frightening realization: that our culture is lethal to the ecology that it depends on."

Part of *Green Rage* is devoted to an interesting account of the rise of radical environmentalism. Manes identifies anthropocentrism, the view that the world should be ordered to human ends, "as the root of our troubled relationship with nature." In its place, deep ecology sees humans as but one of many facets of nature, so that it considers itself "biocentric" or "ecocentric." The animal-rights movement goes in the right direction but not far enough, for plants and nonliving matter are also part of the whole, with rights equal to those of humans.

But Manes is smart enough to see the contradictions being woven. He sees that the idea of rock rights does not go far enough to avoid anthropocentrism, for the very notion of rights is human. He discovers that there are no values in nature and even no meaning.

Consequently, Manes has a difficult time treating the ethical issues that arise from civil disobedience or sabotage. He finally throws up his hands, casts off the restraints morality might place on environmentalists, and says that the issue is "what effect ecotage is actually having on the environmental movement and the culture in general." The environmentalist becomes the Machiavellian. Yet this hardly seems an explanation for Manes's moral outrage, which cannot be understood as simply self-defense. Animals defend, but they do not become morally outraged.

Since it is precisely the ability to distinguish good from bad, and meaning from chaos, that distinguishes men from other animals, mankind must be reduced to its animal character if values and meaning are to disappear. The nearest Manes can get to this is tribal life, whose virtue is its wildness and harmony with nature. But one might wonder whether even to prize that harmony is not anthropocentric. To be true to himself, Manes should not rage, but remain silent.

The incoherence of much current leftist environmental thought can be seen in these books, but it is also possible to see the power of the range of emotions, sentiments, and thought that can be tapped by the left through the environmental movement. Those who would defend the free institutions of capitalism and liberal democracy should not underestimate the challenge presented.

Glen E. Thurow is interim graduate dean and professor of politics at the University of Dallas.

CONSTITUTIONAL VISIONS

BY ROGER PILON

In law as in life, where you start often has a lot to do with where you end. In Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, for example, they started earlier in the century with the group and have struggled ever since to find any room for the individual, which they now seem to be doing only by starting all over again. In America we were more fortunate in having begun our experiment with the individual. Not that the individual has not lost much ground over the years, but our starting point has proved a powerful anchor in that drift.

After the Rights Revolution begins with FDR's "second Bill of Rights." Our original rights "proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness," FDR wrote to Congress in January 1944. We have accepted, therefore, "a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all," including the right to a useful and remunerative job, the right to earn enough, the right of farmers to a decent living and of businessmen to be free from unfair competition, the right to a decent home, the right to adequate medical care, the right to a good education, and on and on.

Those are, of course, the "rights" of the modern regulatory state, the state that Cass Sunstein wants to defend "against influential attacks, recently found, for example, in the Reagan and Thatcher administrations and often based on free-market economics and pre–New Deal principles of private right." This is no ordinary defense, however. Steeped in the literature of public choice and law and economics, Sunstein is keenly aware of the shortcomings of the modern state. His principal aim, therefore, is "to suggest reforms and principles that would promote the purposes of statutory programs and of constitutional government, while avoiding these problems."

What emerges, however, is an often sophisticated, often frustrating apology for the modern state, an apology that too often wants to have it both ways. Yes, minimum-wage laws increase unemployment. Still, "labor markets create a prisoner's dilemma that is soluble only through government action." Yes, deliberate preference—shaping of desires and beliefs through governmental control—smacks of totalitarianism. Still, that point should not be taken to deprive citizens of the power to counteract, through laws providing information and opportunities, "preferences and beliefs that have adapted to an unjust or otherwise objectionable status quo." (There's your rationale for PBS: It's for "people who are indifferent to high-quality broadcasting because they have experienced only banal situation comedies.")

In general, Sunstein calls for "a kind of American-style *perestroika*—a restructuring of institutional arrangements and substantive controls that is entirely unembarrassed by the use of government to reflect democratic aspirations, to promote individual autonomy and economic welfare, and to foster distributional equity, but that also insists on strategies that embody the flexibility, adaptability, productive potential, and decentralization characteristic of private markets."

Yet how could Sunstein not be ambivalent—I choose to be charitable—when he takes the central purpose of constitutional government to be the "promotion" of both autonomy and welfare? The effort to actively promote those ends through "deliberate democracy"—"to respect private property and freedom of contract, but also to permit a large range of governmental activity in the interest of economic productivity and protection of the disadvantaged"—necessarily leads to inconsistency, which can be "transcended" only by treating "the satisfaction of private preferences, whatever their content, [as] an utterly implausible conception of liberty or autonomy. The notion of autonomy should be taken to refer instead to decisions reached with a full and vivid awareness of available opportunities, with all relevant information, or, most generally, without illegitimate constraints on the process of preference formation." Hegel could not have put it better.

There is about this book, then, a large measure of the vision that has been upon us since the Progressive Era: Disdainful, in the end, of the private realm, with all its contingent variety, the vision and its adherents would force us, through the democratic device, to be "free." Although their preferred vehicles are the legislative and executive branches, "it is inevitable that some role will remain for the courts," Sunstein avers. And here, "the task of interpretation calls for sympathetic engagement with the modern regulatory state, not for the use of [first] principles conspicuously rejected by the rise of regulation."

Thus "in the aftermath of the New Deal, courts have been reluctant to use the Con-

After the Rights Revolution: Reconceiving the Regulatory State, by Cass R. Sunstein, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 284 pages, $25.00

The Tempting of America: The Political Seduction of the Law, by Robert H. Bork, New York: Free Press, 432 pages, $22.50

stitution's explicit protections of property and contract in a way that would significantly interfere with social and economic regulation." What accounts for this "large shift from the beliefs of the founding generation"? In part, courts understand that they ought to interfere "only in egregious cases" because those measures have "considerable popular support."

Thus do courts cease to be "the bulwark of our liberties," as Madison put it. Yet given the regulatory springboard from which they work, it is through the courts, Sunstein observes, "that regulatory improvements, interstitial to be sure, can be brought about most easily." The branches work hand in hand, *then*, "*renovating the original commitments* to checks and balances, federalism, and individual rights"—not to secure the private order but in "a deliberative effort to promote the common good." Where you start has a great deal to do with where you end.

The contemporary world of academic jurisprudence to which Sunstein belongs—he acknowledges over 40 people in his preface—is a principal target of Robert Bork's *The Tempting of America*. Unlike older constitutional commentators, the modern theorists are undertaking "the alteration of the Constitution...to make it not a document 'addressed to the common sense of the people,' " as Joseph Story characterized our fundamental legal instrument, "but one addressed to a specialized and sophisticated clerisy of judicial power."

Through their teaching and writing, through the lawyers, judges, and judges' clerks they train, those theorists are engaged in a war "for control of the legal culture." Overwhelmingly of the left, they would impose the values of the left upon the American people through the power of the judiciary to say what the Constitution means and hence what our law should be. They would thus politicize the law not so much through the elected representatives of the people as through an unelected judiciary.

In the end, the battle over his confirmation for the Supreme Court was a battle, Bork argues, about the proper role of the courts. And in this, "there are only two sides. Either the Constitution and statutes are law, which means that their principles are known and control judges, or they are malleable texts that judges may rewrite to see that particular groups or political causes win." In Bork's view, the original understanding supports only the former side.

"The intended function of the federal courts is to apply the law as it comes to them from the hands of others," and in particular from the hands of the legislature. "The judiciary's great office is to preserve the constitutional design," which it does by confining Congress and the president to the powers granted them, by protecting freedoms granted by the Bill of Rights, "but also, and equally important, by insuring that the democratic authority of the people is maintained in the full scope given by the Constitution."

It is democracy, then, that is Bork's starting point. Indeed, our "first principle is self-government, which means that in *wide areas* of life majorities are entitled to rule, if they wish, simply because they are majorities." Our second principle is "that there are nonetheless *some* things majorities must not do to minorities, *some* areas of life in which the individual must be free of majority rule." (Emphasis added.)

A large part of the book is devoted to showing how an activist judiciary, especially over the past 40 years, has taken upon itself the power to rewrite the Constitution, denying the people the right to see their values instituted through their elected representatives. From *Dred Scott* in 1857 (with Justice Taney "determined to prove that the right of property in slaves was guaranteed by the Constitution") to *Lochner* in 1905 (frustrating New York state's attempt to regulate the hours of bakers) to *Roe* v. *Wade* in 1973 (finding a constitutional right to abortion), case after case is examined for evidence of an unrestrained judiciary, running roughshod over the democratic design.

The lengths to which Bork will go in the name of that design are sometimes striking. He quotes the sole dissenter in *Loan Association* v. *Topeka* (1874): "Except where the Constitution has imposed limits upon the legislative power the rule of law appears to be that the power of legislation must be considered as practically absolute, whether the law operates according to natural justice or not in any particular case, for the reason that the courts are not the guardians of the rights of the people of the State, save where those rights are secured by some constitutional provision which comes within judicial cognizance." That "makes the case for the correct judicial role about as well as it can be made," Bork concludes. Ever wary of appeals to "natural justice," to which judges have no special access and over which they

TROY THOMAS

have no authority, Bork believes that "majoritarian despotism" should be "cured at the polls"—presumably by minority votes.

More deeply, however, it is Bork's conception of constitutional authority that fails to satisfy, for he views the Constitution almost on the model of a contract, for which text, original understanding, and history must be the principal interpretive tools, consent the justifying foundation. With a constitution, that will get us going, until we reach the broad language of the document, with which ours is replete, at which point we must make a choice: Do we turn the interpretation of that language over to the majority, through the legislative branch, or do we ask the judiciary to interpret—or, better, to apply—this part of the document as well?

If the former, as Bork argues, we had better find some warrant in the document, of which there is precious little in ours. And if we do find such a warrant, we are still left with the frail original consent by way of justifying resort to the will of the majority—a consent that has never been deeply satisfying. If we ask the judiciary to do the interpretation, however, we leave ourselves vulnerable as well.

Yet that is the courts' business under a constitutional regime, which is why we make them immune from political pressure. Resort to the judiciary has the further advantage of affording that branch the opportunity to appeal, ideally, to the higher law that was thought, in the American case, to stand behind the broad language of our Constitution, giving the document not only content but legitimacy and authority of a kind that only unanimous consent could otherwise provide. Yet Bork precludes this avenue of authority in his haste to turn the ambiguities of the document over to the far less satisfying authority of the majority.

Despite their manifest political differences, then, Bork and Sunstein both begin as democrats who would give wide berth to the majority to plan and regulate our lives. Unlike Bork, however, Sunstein would invite the judiciary to draw upon a broad range of often doubtful reasons in applying the Constitution—reasons unrelated to the document by text, original understanding, or history—concerning which Bork is rightly critical.

But it will not avail Bork himself to resort to the sweeping majoritarianism that was no part of the original design, was explicitly guarded against by that design, and could not be justified in any event, save by frequent appeal to unanimous consent. Majoritarianism is our inheritance from the Progressive Era, not from the Founding. At the Founding they got it right. They started with the individual.

Roger Pilon is a senior fellow at the Cato Institute and the director of Cato's Center for Constitutional Studies.

THE FIRST INNOCENT ABROAD

BY STEVEN HAYWARD

"What will the Americans do?" That question has plagued the world not just since the United States became a superpower, but indeed since the earliest days of the republic. On the one hand, geography and native disdain for the corruption of Old World politics incline America toward isolation. On the other hand, America's "traditional sense of universal moral mission," in Henry Kissinger's words, leads the United States to intervene around the world for the loftiest of reasons, "to make the world safe for democracy." What other country issues such sweeping proclamations as the Truman Doctrine, or, lately, the Reagan Doctrine? America was the first and remains the only country to assert an indissoluble connection between the prospects for freedom at home and the prospects for freedom abroad. So the problem for foreign leaders is which America will it be this week: the cautious isolationist or the idealistic, crusading, and often reckless interventionist? The wrong answer can carry ruinous consequences. Just ask the Hungarian freedom fighters of 1956, or Saddam Hussein in 1990.

Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson, by Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, New York: Oxford University Press, 360 pages, $24.95

This fundamental problem became a world crisis with the advent of *Pax Americana* (or "The American Century," if you like), starting with Woodrow Wilson and culminating with America's supplanting of the British Empire after World War II. Now, with the Cold War—nay, even history itself—ending, the question of America's bearings in the world needs to be rethought. America's idealistic, crusading posture is fairly easy to carry off against ideological totalitarians. You couldn't ask central casting for villains purer than Nazis or Communists. It becomes a much more difficult and subtle matter to conduct relations with a Soviet Union that is, like Britain in 1800, merely pursuing national or imperial, rather than ideological, interests in the world.

Already the conservative camp is splitting apart, with Pat Buchanan sounding rather like

the George McGovern of 1972 ("Come home, America"), while the "neoconservatives," most of them anyway, favor a globalist policy. Libertarians have remained largely aloof from the entire debate over the years, preferring the counsel of John Quincy Adams that although America is a friend to liberty everywhere, she is the defender only of her own. The question then becomes: Where does the frontier of American liberty begin? Reasonable people can disagree about the answer, but it can form the basis of an isolationism more thoughtful than many in the past and present.

Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson is one of those opportune books that sheds light on a vital present controversy by careful examination of historical antecedents. The book is essential reading for any would-be custodians of America's long-term foreign outlook. *Empire of Liberty* explores the issue by scrutinizing the origins of the dual nature of American foreign policy in the statecraft of the early republic, and especially in the thought and record of the man who, more than any other, is responsible for imbuing American political thought with its extraordinary idealistic strain. *Empire of Liberty* makes clear to libertarians and idealistic crusaders alike the limitations of their positions. It is well to remember Lincoln, for instance, who accorded "all honor to Jefferson" because his Declaration of Independence gave liberty "not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men." This is why American foreign policy has always sought to claim reasons different from and above the traditional "reasons of state" of ordinary European diplomacy. It means that domestic political principles take precedence in foreign policy deliberations. This view gets us into a lot of trouble, especially when conceived with the simple-minded zeal of a Woodrow Wilson or a Jimmy Carter. But it is also essential to America. *Empire of Liberty* shows how and why this view unfolded early in the republic, and the book also amply demonstrates its inherent limitations.

Empire of Liberty is a boldly revisionist book, taking sharp issue with most modern Jefferson biographers—especially Dumas Malone and Merrill Peterson—and reviving the historical judgments of Henry Adams. We should expect a divergent view from these authors. Tucker, professor of American diplomacy at Johns Hopkins University, is co-editor of the foreign affairs quarterly *The National Interest*, while Hendrickson, associate professor of political science at Colorado College, has written widely on strategy and foreign affairs. The authors' basic theme is that Jefferson's diplomacy, both as secretary of state under George Washington and especially as president from 1801 to 1809, was contradictory and ruinous, and that Jefferson's legacy has been the unresolvable tension between idealism and realism at the heart of American foreign policy ever since.

The early part of the book explores the emergence of Republican diplomacy during the administrations of Washington and John Adams, and the unfolding of the tensions between the United States and France and England. Hamilton and the Federalists favored better relations with England and stronger defense preparations, while Jefferson and the Republicans inclined toward France, favoring only a modest coastal navy and no army. The 1790s ended with America having very nearly gone to war with both France and England. Thus Jefferson inherited in 1801 a diplomatic position partly of his own making.

Two episodes dominate the foreign record of the Jefferson administration: the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 and the successive trade embargoes of 1805 to 1809, which were directed against English impressment of sailors on American merchant ships and in support of the trading rights of neutral nations. The Louisiana Purchase has always been viewed as a great triumph for Jefferson and the nation, but Tucker and Hendrickson throw a lot of cold water on Jefferson's handling of this episode. In the briefest terms, Jefferson was lucky. His chief strategy was to delay and dither, all the while making incredible and unserious threats to form an alliance with either France or England against the other. In the end, it was Napoleon's miscarried Santo Domingo campaign, and the mounting prospect of war with England, that led France to abandon all ambitions for Louisiana and offer its sale to America.

Did Jefferson's idealistic zeal inevitably lead to the disasters of Woodrow Wilson and Jimmy Carter?

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

The happy outcome, Tucker and Hendrickson argue, has obscured the risks of Jefferson's Louisiana diplomacy. In gambling with the sentiments of western states and territories, Jefferson risked disunion. Tucker and Hendrickson argue that Hamilton's strategy—to risk war with France over New Orleans—was a better and more prudent one and that Jefferson's success ultimately depended on England, with whom he was unwilling seriously to consider alliance.

"Ironically, by comparison," the authors write, "it is Hamilton who appears as the truer representative of a policy of independence than does Jefferson."

The indictment of Jefferson's management of Louisiana does not end with diplomacy. The authors also sharply criticize Jefferson's putting aside his constitutional scruples about territorial acquisition by executive treaty. Agreeing with Henry Adams that Jefferson's position dealt "a fatal blow to 'strict construction,' " Tucker and Hendrickson argue that the episode was "a great turning point, which, once passed, resulted in changing the nature of the Union." Pro-Jefferson historians have justified this tergiversation by siding with Jefferson's fears that calling for a constitutional amendment might have risked the treaty, but Tucker and Hendrickson think a speedy amendment could easily have been obtained. Hence the authors ask rhetorically: "What does it say about Jefferson's devotion to constitutional principle when it appeared to pose even a modest risk to the imperious demands of reason of state?"

Jefferson comes off even worse in the authors' evaluation of his prosecution of the maritime crisis of 1805-1809. About this episode Tucker and Hendrickson are unyielding: "The defectiveness of Jefferson's foreign policy cannot be ascribed merely to exiguous circumstances. His political vision was central to his failure." The inherent problem of Jefferson was his tendency to convert every foreign policy question into a moral question to be answered by refracting it through the fundamental principles of the American regime. Jefferson's moralism, the authors conclude, "not only constituted the central aspect of his diplomatic outlook but is also identifiable as the primary corrupting factor within it."

Jefferson's belief that principle and necessity can always be reconciled has proved irresistibly attractive to American leaders ever since.

Tucker and Hendrickson make a strong case about Jefferson's misjudgments of the circumstances as well. American moral and legal claims with regard to maritime rights were far from self-evident. Even Albert Gallatin estimated that half or more of all sailors on American merchant ships were English citizens; the English had a legitimate basis for their impressment practices. Jefferson's lack of *realpolitik* blinded him to legitimate English interests as a belligerent against France, and to the potential threat to America that France might have posed had it defeated England. Jefferson's uncompromising moral position prevented any chance of a realistic accommodation with England. Successively stringent embargo acts were both repressive and unconstitutional—a judgment Tucker and Hendrickson share with many other historians. Once again the authors take up Hamilton's banner, arguing that he was a better isolationist than Jefferson, on account of his earlier advocacy of domestic manufactures as an alternative to depending on European trade. In the end even Jefferson had to acknowledge the failure of the embargo policy. Intended to avoid humiliation and war, the embargo led eventually to both.

Tucker and Hendrickson do not break off their case with this mere revision. To make sure readers understand there is a contemporary lesson, the final section of the book examines the meaning of the Jeffersonian legacy in American statecraft. Jefferson's refusal to concede necessity, his belief that principle and interest can always be reconciled, has proved irresistibly attractive to American leaders ever since. The more spectacular the pronouncements, the more glaring the failure. Tucker has written elsewhere ("Reflections on America's Role," *The National Interest*, Fall 1986) that Woodrow Wilson failed for exactly the reasons described in *Empire of Liberty*. (One is tempted to add Jimmy Carter to such a list.) But Tucker, at least, does not demur on the crusading role of America. He approves of the Reagan Doctrine, for instance, which holds that we will aid prodemocratic insurgencies around the world. He just wishes our leaders were more prudent, more willing to use indirection and other subtle arts, in their prosecution of the great crusade. But subtlety and indirection are exactly the talents American statecraft has usually lacked, as was perhaps best captured by D.H. Lawrence's remark that the two great American talents are saving the world and fixing the plumbing.

Churchill wrote that "the distinction between politics and strategy diminishes as the point of view is raised. At the summit true politics and strategy are one." Even as they show the ill consequences of excessive moralism in foreign policy, Tucker and Hendrickson understand that a nation dedicated to "a proposition" (Lincoln's words) about the "self-evident truths" of the natural rights of free men cannot escape a moral dilemma in the making of its foreign policy, and that a nation so dedicated must occasionally expend its blood and its treasure to remain faithful to its ideals. Tucker and Hendrickson do not, as they might, engage in any second-guessing about the idealism of the American Founding being incorporated into foreign policy. That would require another volume, and it would not be a history. Instead, mindful that "true politics and strategy are one," and seeing that a high idealism is central to our politics, Tucker and Hendrickson's final judgment is more charitable: "On the issue of the nation's proper role in the world, Jefferson's legacy remains ultimately ambiguous." Leaders who digest this lesson, however, will be more likely to conduct foreign policy with some prudence and finesse.

Contributing Editor Steven Hayward is director of the Claremont Institute's Golden State Project.

SEARCHING FOR SERENDIPITY

BY MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER

Science fiction novelist Charles Platt has called for the creation of "quantum fiction"—fiction with short chapters that can be read in any order. Such fiction, Platt maintains, would be ideal for busy readers who lack the leisure to read sustained narratives.

Dictionaries are quantum nonfiction. Leafing through one is the best way I know to spend an idle half hour. Because dictionaries can be read in any order, the odds one will come across unexpected insights are higher than in more conventional books where one has some notion of the direction and nature of the plot.

For years, I tried to deny that buying and reading dictionaries was a hobby. "This isn't a frivolous form of collecting," I would tell myself. "I am buying valuable works of reference which will help me in my work." But gradually, my shelves began to bulge with arcane references on subjects to which I had little reason to refer: Texas, Mormonism, *The Language of Nuclear War.* Now I admit it. Dictionaries are fun.

For example, consider Stephen Murray-Smith's *Right Words: A Guide to English Usage in Australia* (Penguin Australia, 1990). In his entry on "Have a nice day," Murray-Smith quotes H.L. Mencken, who told anyone who wished him a nice day, "I'll thank you to mind your own business; I'll have whatever sort of day I choose." Who would have expected to find such a delightful quotation in a book designed to teach Australians how to avoid British and American pleonasms?

Owning dictionaries on a wide range of subjects gives me the comfortable illusion that I have access to all knowledge. On dull or dark days, this illusion cheers me. Billionaires can buy or sell companies around the world on a whim; George Bush can send hundreds of thousands of soldiers to a dry and dusty desert on a moment's notice; and whenever I choose, I can walk across a room, leaf through my copy of Paul Dickson's *Words* (Delacorte, 1982), and read 2,231 synonyms for *drunk.*

Dictionary compilers are usually possessed by a particular topic. Sometimes they are academics who use their obsession to sum up the state of knowledge in a particular field; sometimes they are autodidacts who write about a subject as a hobby or a labor of love. Consider how an American journalist and a British scholar cover the same topic—politics.

William Safire's *Safire's Political Dictionary* (Random House, 1978) is an invaluable, massive guide to the slogans, catch phrases, and neologisms of American political life. Safire writes in a chatty, garrulous, "tell-ya-a-story" voice. He's clearly in love with his subject and likes nothing better than imparting bits of obscure information.

In the entry for *happy warrior*, for example, Safire quotes the Wordsworth poem from which the phrase originated ("Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he/That every man in arms should wish to be?"). In his entry for *opportunist*, Safire shows how Robert LaFollette, Sr., Harold Wilson, Francis Bacon, and George Romney used the term; as a "dazzling display of anti-opportunist rhetoric," Safire quotes Hua Kuo-feng's attack on Maoists: "Their necks function like ball bearings and their waists like spring bands, and wind gauges are planted on their heads."

If Safire's voice is that of an ebullient American, Roger Scruton, in *A Dictionary of Political Thought* (Harper and Row, 1982), writes in the donnish manner of a British mandarin. Scruton is a well-known conservative, but in his dictionary—a guide to common terms used in political science and political philosophy—he dispassionately examines all political views. There is nothing in his discussion of Marx or Marxism to which the adherents of that discipline would object. (They might, however, cringe when Scruton discusses "marxizing," the practice of salting an article with Marxist phrases in order "to establish one's credentials as a serious member of the intellectual left.") Scruton is particularly useful in his discussions of French and German political traditions.

The Encyclopedia of the American Left, edited by Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas, New York: Garland, 880 pages, $95.00

A Dictionary of Common Fallacies, by Philip Ward, Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 582 pages (2 vols.), $44.95

Slang!: The Topic-by-Topic Dictionary of Contemporary American Lingoes, by Paul Dickson, New York: Bantam, 264 pages, $9.95

The Untamed Tongue: A Dissenting Dictionary, by Thomas Szasz, Peru, Ill.: Open Court, 261 pages, $34.95

Safire and Scruton leave little room for competing political dictionaries, since few people are as passionate about language as Safire or have as deep an understanding of political philosophy as Scruton does. But Garland Publishing has found one niche that needs to be filled—dictionaries about American

political movements. Surprisingly, *The Encyclopedia of the American Left* is the first dictionary to exhaustively examine all facets of American leftism. In an article in *The Nation*, editor Paul Buhle explains that he and his comrades spent so many years putting together *The Encyclopedia of the American Left* that laboring on the volume "has converted us, I'm afraid, into doyens of Red Trivia."

Indeed, seasoned redbaiters could spend many instructive hours using the book to inform themselves about the suppressed revolutionary pasts of many prominent Americans. Aaron Copland, as a member of the Composers' Collective, "asserted the importance of mass singing as a vehicle for communicating the 'day-to-day struggles of the proletariat.' " Broadway tunesmith E.Y. "Yip" Harburg hoped that his most famous musical, *Finian's Rainbow*, would cause audiences to "consider seriously the writer's not-too-thinly veiled critique of capitalism." Even beloved American poet James Whitcomb Riley churned out campaign lyrics for longtime Socialist Party presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs ("the kindest heart that ever beat/betwixt here an' the judgment seat").

TROY THOMAS

The editors rejected many writers who were either too opaque or, as Buhle notes, still carry "the grudges of 1937." Although comprehensive, the book does not cover American leftists who recanted their ways and defected to the conservative or the neoconservative cause. Thus Max Shachtman, one of the intellectual grandparents of neoconservatism, is included, because he remained a leftist even as his disgust with socialism rose. But Max Eastman does not have his own entry; neither does Morrie Ryskind. The late Sidney Hook, however, does receive coverage, probably because he feuded with nearly everyone and thus could not be ignored. *The Encyclopedia of the American Left* is essential reading for anyone interested in its subject, although you probably should ask your local library to order a copy, since at $95 the book is far too expensive for most toiling members of the working classes.

A less expensive and more entertaining dictionary is *A Dictionary of Common Fallacies*. The author, Philip Ward, is an autodidact who spends much of his time attacking pseudoscientific nonsense. But what makes the book idiosyncratic and very browsable is that Ward considers "fallacies" to mean "the popular beliefs which have been shown to be false by those without a vested interest in deceiving the multitude for power, wealth, or prestige." This definition is sufficiently broad to cover all the topics Ward thought interesting. A more honest title for the book would have been *The Dictionary of Topics I Felt like Writing About*.

Thus Ward refutes obscure superstitions, such as the notion that British pubs called "The Black Horse" were places where King Arthur fell into a drunken stupor. Ward also proves that bulls aren't enraged by the color red (it's the bullfighter that gets the animal mad, not the cape) and that lemmings don't jump off cliffs and drown because of a death wish (no one has ever seen a lemming commit suicide). Ward throws folklore, social criticism, science, history, and even musicology into his two volumes. *A Dictionary of Common Fallacies* must have been as enjoyable to write as it is to read.

While most dictionary compilers, such as Safire and Ward, create murals in their books, exhausting a single subject, other compilers are miniaturists, writing about several topics in a single volume. The best of these is Paul Dickson. In his latest effort, *Slang!*, Dickson covers 24 different topics in one book. There are chapters devoted to auctions, cars, bureaucracy, science fiction, war, and real estate, among other subjects. *Slang!* is the literary equivalent of Doctor Who's time machine, a book that packs the informational power of an entire bookshelf in a single volume.

As might be expected, the chapters are very thin; Dickson would have done far better to give 40 pages each to six or seven topics. But even though there is much in *Slang!* that is familiar, Dickson's skillful research ensures that most readers will find material that is surprising. Did you know that in the television world, "HINT" is an acronym that refers to "Happy Idiot News Team," used to describe particularly asinine newscasts?

A final category of dictionary consists of collections of aphorisms by a single author on many topics. Writers publish these books, usually called "philosophical dictionaries," late in their careers, recapitulating the themes which have occu-

pied them throughout their lives. For example, in Jaroslav Pelikan's *The Melody of Theology* (Harvard, 1988), the distinguished Yale historian sums up his thoughts on such subjects as Martin Luther, evil, libraries, and, yes, dictionaries.

Thomas Szasz's latest work, billed as a "dissenting dictionary," is such a collection of aphorisms, divided into 30 topics. As one would expect from Szasz, the most profound aphorisms are critiques of psychiatry and the psychiatrist's world view. "Two of the most important contemporary religions are communism and psychiatry," Szasz writes. The philosophical foundation of both dogmas is the belief that "human behavior is determined by scientific laws and that individuals have no free will."

Ward proves that bulls aren't enraged by the color red and lemmings don't jump off cliffs because of a death wish.

Whenever Szasz writes about psychiatry, his work is rich and full of insight; when he shifts to other subjects, including politics, his writing dulls. For example, in the section on "Liberty," we learn that "freedom is what people want for themselves and few want for others"; we also discover that, during the last 20 years, Americans have been allowed to buy gold bullion but not to pay people less than the minimum wage. Such statements are true, but they are not fresh or original.

After all, the lasting pleasure of reading dictionaries comes from the joy of discovering writers who are able to surprise the reader by providing either new views or interesting information. The best dictionaries do not age and are endlessly rereadable. They are lifetime companions.

Martin Morse Wooster is Washington editor of REASON.

BUSINESS WITHOUT BORDERS

BY GEORGE MELLOAN

A year of political upheaval in Central Europe and the Soviet Union has forced intellectuals in the West to reflect on a word many had relegated to the dusty attics of their minds: *capitalism*. Large numbers of Poles, Czechoslovakians, East Germans, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians who have mounted the barricades to demand freedom find that word very exciting. They may not have a thorough understanding of capitalism; it is sufficient in their view that it is very different from the socialism they know all too well.

Thus they are forcing Western thinkers to reconsider something many have treated with disdain. The peoples of the East are saying that they believe that private capitalism is more than just an expression of human greed. Their own experience, in countries that to one degree or another managed to extinguish property rights, tells them that what philosophers such as F.A. Hayek and Milton Friedman have argued is true, that private ownership of property and political liberty go hand in hand. A man's home or business is his castle, but only if he, personally, has a clear title to it. In a capitalist system, he also can buy a share of a private enterprise doing more business than all of Poland simply by phoning a stockbroker.

Since dramatic political change can hardly be ignored by the Western intelligentsia and since the message is so clear and emphatic, this is a good year for books about capitalism. In past years, with so much intellectual focus on socialist dialectics and statist economic nostrums, it has been easy to ignore the quiet evolution of capitalism. It evolves under the motive power of an internal dynamic. Individuals, voluntarily joining together in search of financial gain and psychological fulfillment, are a powerful source of energy and creativity.

As it happens, this revival year for capitalism has produced three new books that, in very different ways, offer insights into why modern capitalism is such a successful and important component of social and economic organization in the democracies. They also provide a sense of where capitalism now stands in its evolutionary development. All three are good antidotes to the noxious claim that capitalism is the enemy

The Borderless World, by Kenichi Ohmae, New York: Harper & Row, 223 pages, $21.95

The Competitive Advantage of Nations, by Michael E. Porter, New York: Macmillan, 855 pages, $35.00

Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism, by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 860 pages, $35.00

of social justice or that it simply is a method of work organization and therefore unfit for serious philosophical discussion.

All three also are antidotes to the notion that nation states should control and direct private economic development through what proponents choose to call "industrial policy." They conclude—two of them through detailed scholarly research—that capitalism works best under conditions of minimal interference from the state. The popular, and false, notion that Japan's economic success is a result of the all-knowing prescience of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) does not fare well when these books are carefully read.

The most readable of the three is *Borderless World*, by Kenichi Ohmae, a management consultant with McKinsey & Co. in Tokyo who also finds time to write provocative books, op-ed pieces, and magazine articles. Ken Ohmae might be called a master of thoughtful exaggeration. That trait can be found in his assertion that global capitalism has transcended nationalism. Superficially, that is true. Money and capital in vast amounts are transferred each day from and to millions of bank accounts throughout the world. "World cars," tailored to different national tastes but with common components from around the globe, have become common.

Scale and Scope suggests that U.S. and German companies have succeeded better than their British counterparts because Britain held on too long to old-fashioned owner capitalism.

But then big corporations have been international for a long time. What Ohmae is describing is simply further advancement and sophistication in global organization. By his own account, that sophistication requires an awareness of nationality and nationalism. Companies build plants abroad to be close to markets and minimize currency exchange risk. They staff them, to the extent possible, with managers who understand the local culture. Somewhere, in New York, Tokyo, or Eindhoven, there is a nexus of central management, responsible, in theory at least, to a large body of shareholders—or, more broadly, to beneficiaries of pension and mutual funds—who are also scattered throughout the globe.

Ohmae shines in his role as iconoclast. The United States, he writes, "has no 'foreign' trade." Trade statistics measure goods crossing national boundaries, but "because the money to buy these foreign goods is still denominated in dollars, buying them is no different from, say, buying California oranges or PCs from Texas." He strikes real pay dirt when he adds that if "policymakers lower the value of the dollar in the belief that doing so will boost trade competitiveness, sooner or later the dollar will no longer be accepted by America's trading partners as settlement currency." Somebody please print that in letters two feet high and paste it on the office wall of Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, who seems to be one of those politicians who believe that a country can devalue its way into prosperity.

For that matter, Ohmae's thesis about the disappearance of national borders shouldn't be treated lightly. Borders certainly still exist, but he has some very good points about the world's expanding economic interdependence. "In the interlinked economy, it does not matter who builds the factory or who owns the office building or whose money lies behind the shopping mall or whose equity makes the local operation possible. What matters is that the global corporations that, one way or another, do business within a set of political borders act as responsible corporate citizens. If they do, no matter what their home country, they will treat the people fairly, give them good work to do and provide them with valuable products and services. If they do not, the people will neither work for them nor buy what they produce.

"Today's global corporations are nationalityless, because consumers have become less nationalistic. True global corporations serve the interests of customers, not governments."

Beyond macroeconomics, Ohmae delves into a subject he knows quite well as a management consultant: how to develop a global corporate strategy. He emphasizes the increasing importance in today's competitive world of innovation and finding ways to differentiate a product from competing brands. He also stresses that, given big investments in automation, managers must learn to live with high fixed costs and adapt their worldwide operations accordingly.

For further word on how corporations succeed, turn to Michael E. Porter and *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*. This is a scholarly tome based on exhaustive studies looking for the secrets of industrial success in more than 100 different industries in 10 nations. Porter, who teaches at Harvard Business School, studies industries as clusters, a very useful approach for such an inquiry. Giant companies everywhere are highly dependent on the little guys who feed them parts, materials, and services.

He makes another important discovery—that adversity often breeds success. A shortage of land, for example, forced the Japanese to shorten production lines and, to cut down the need for storage space, pioneer "just-in-time" delivery of parts from suppliers. The result was greater manufacturing efficiency, and many American companies, with no such space problems, later copied the "just-in-time" system to save on inventory costs. The upward revaluation of the yen in the late 1980s, which in theory made Japanese products more expensive in world markets, also stimulated a drive for greater efficiency. (Again, Mr. Brady, please take note.)

Porter finds that Italy's comparative advantage comes in part from the major role of entrepreneurs in its industrial clusters. "Italians are risk takers," he writes. "Many are individualistic and desire independence....Spin-offs to start a new company at the first possible opportunity are common in Italy, and a number of business magazines are full of nothing but profiles of successful entrepreneurs." It wouldn't be a bad idea for Hungarians, Poles, and Czechoslovakians to go to Italy to learn how to build an economy from the ground up. Italy's vitality derives from its entrepreneurial economy, not from the state-owned dinosaurs. The entrepreneurs have developed excellent tactics to keep themselves relatively free of the Italian government's dead hand.

Whereas Ohmae treats multinational corporations as largely stateless, Porter focuses on the countries where global firms are headquartered and thus treats companies as "American," "Italian," and so on. He stresses the importance of competition within home markets and seems to think that American companies in particular have lost some of their competitive edge, a finding that will no doubt gratify many of their critics. This he blames on, among other things, the merger boom of the 1980s, brought about in his view by a weakening of antitrust law that has reduced the intensity of competition. He also asserts that "defensiveness and a loss of confidence have crept into American industry and government." This has led, he says, to cries for government relief from competition, in the form of devaluations of the dollar, relaxation of regulation, removal of antitrust restrictions, and so on.

Kenichi Ohmae (right) guides businessmen into a borderless world.

That's quite a mixed bag, however. Devaluation is a bad policy, while relaxation of regulation is often a good one. On the whole, Ohmae's evaluation of why companies succeed is more focused, stressing management techniques that spur innovation, whereas Porter, although he offers some useful insights, wanders around a great deal. American business does whine a lot, but it is by no means as feeble as he sometimes implies.

Indeed, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., a veteran economic historian at Harvard Business School, finds advantages in the American form of corporate management. His study, too, is multinational, drawing distinctions between the corporate cultures of the United States and Germany on the one hand and the United Kingdom on the other. *Scale and Scope* suggests that the first two have succeeded better than the third because the United Kingdom held on too long to old-fashioned owner capitalism. The United States and Germany, by contrast, made a successful transition to professional corporate management.

"The failure of British entrepreneurs to make the investments, recruit the managers and develop the organizational capabilities needed in order to obtain and retain market share in many of the new industries often meant that they lost their markets not only abroad but at home," Chandler writes. He also mentions dividend policy, asserting that owner-managers often prefer large dividends and thus limit the ability of their companies to use surpluses for investments that increase efficiency and growth. Moreover, since top management positions in such firms are often reserved for family members, managers who are not members of the family have only limited incentives to do well, since they can never advance beyond a certain point.

While all this is plausible enough on the surface, Chandler actually is touching on several complex issues that he does not choose to explore deeply in this book. He obviously favors professional corporate management over owner management, and it is indeed hard to quarrel with the success so many American professionals and their German counterparts have had in running huge joint stock companies. Management has indeed become a profession, as Ohmae makes clear in his discussion of corporate strategies and management techniques designed to stimulate work effort and creativity.

But many other factors come into play in any examination of why U.S. and German companies have done well and British companies have not. For one thing, generalizations are tricky. Some owner-managed companies in all three countries have done well. Small and medium-sized entrepreneurial companies supply important vitality to both the U.S. and German economies.

Estate-tax laws have an important bearing on decisions to take companies public and make the transition to professional

management. Taxes also affect dividend policy, whether the company is publicly or privately held. For years it has made more sense for U.S. professional managers to reinvest earnings rather than pay them out as dividends. That's because dividends are doubly taxed, once as corporate earnings and again as stockholder income. So shareholders often have preferred capital gains if managers could achieve them.

That is not an argument for double taxation, however. Many economists would prefer a payout of dividends, which shareholders would then reinvest based on their own judgments of what investments offered the best return. One simple reason that British owners and investors have not been good risk takers is that the country's frequent bouts with socialism and bad Tory government before the Thatcher era raised the risk threshold too high.

Owner vs. professional management has been a subject of debate since the early days of professional management in the United States. That was in the 1920s, when the corporate creations of turn-of-the-century tycoons were passing into broad public ownership. At the beginning of the 1930s, New Deal economist Adolph Berle argued that big, professionally managed business corporations were becoming governments within governments. A thoroughgoing statist, he was worried about encroachment on government power. A decade later, author James Burnham would attack professional managers from the opposite direction. He worried that professionals were not sufficiently imbued with capitalist ideology. They would be just as happy running a socialist enterprise as a private one, he feared.

Well, big business has proved to be remarkably adaptable. Large corporations have shown that they could be efficient even as they became private welfare states offering employees wide-ranging social benefits. Indeed, treating workers well contributed to their success. The professionals were sensitive to all kinds of pressures, particularly from government, customers, and employees. Berle had nothing to fear about the U.S. government withering away under pressure from big business. Quite the opposite has happened.

But Burnham's concerns linger. There remains the question of whether these corporations are truly private or quasi-public. Is capitalism still dominant in the U.S. economy, or has it evolved into a sort of free-floating ownership by professional fund managers who accept very few of the responsibilities of ownership? Who are the owners of big business? Perhaps no one in any truly functional sense. This doesn't bother Chandler much as he dwells on the evolution of big companies through periods of globalization and diversification.

But the issue is by no means dead. No doubt it is true that in the United Kingdom, which still retains many of the artifacts of a class system, owner-managers were sleepy and backward. Some of them operated under a sense of divine right that was almost medieval. Labor unions were noisy, troublesome, and largely ineffectual at representing the best interests of workers. The same was true of government, whether Tory or Labor. In other words, the entire problem was far more complex than is implied by a simple dichotomy between owner and professional management.

Yet it should be pointed out that owner management, certainly in the United States and even in the United Kingdom, has played an important role in the development of successful industries. Owner management is the seeding ground where individuals risk their savings and work long hours to make a business thrive. The narrow margin of safety these owners have disciplines their decisionmaking; without discipline their businesses are quite likely to fail and disappear. Their precarious situation also gives them a wholly realistic sense of the environment in which they operate, thus making them the most effective critics of misguided public policy and of political favoritism toward their competitors. No economy can really be vigorous and innovative without this vital sector, even though it often is overlooked by business writers and economists who focus on the big, professionally managed corporations.

Owner-managers often make effective critics of misguided public policy. Unfortunately, business writers usually focus on big, professionally managed corporations.

So those would-be capitalists in Eastern lands shouldn't be too quick to discount the importance of owner management. They should keep in mind what Porter has to say about the vitality of entrepreneurship. They also should keep in mind what all three authors have to say, in effect, about industrial policy. In essence, these books make the case that business functions best when government doesn't try to direct it. It is a logical point. How can a bureaucrat possibly know more about how to run a company than the people actually running it?

The countries emerging from socialism are finding it very difficult to privatize broken-down state industries. (These too, of course, were run by something akin to "professional" management.) The makers of economic policy in such places, not to mention individuals in free countries who would like to learn more about capitalism, can gain a lot from these three books. The secret is to unlock human energy and creativity. That is accomplished by freeing individuals and the economic organizations they form from unnecessary state interference. It is a simple message, and yet it has taken a revolution in Europe to drive it home. ◼

George Melloan is deputy editor (international) of the Wall Street Journal.

WOOLLY BULLIES

BY JEFF TAYLOR

It has become a familiar pattern in recent years. Both houses of Congress pass a protectionist textile bill only to have it killed by a president committed, more or less, to free trade.

But for a while there was reason to think the Textile, Apparel, and Footwear Trade Act of 1990 would be different. By appealing to other manufacturing interests and agribusiness supporters worried about the outcome of the 97-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks, the textile industry managed to put together a coalition that included all the big-time protectionist players. The goal was, and is, to cripple the GATT talks even if the textile bill should die.

The textile lobby needed new allies after its usual partner, the American Apparel Manufacturers Association, came out against the bill. After its members found they couldn't get enough raw fabric from U.S. companies, the AAMA became convinced that the cost of protectionism was too high. No longer are imported fabrics inferior to their American counterparts, only less expensive.

Chief U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills warned that if the textile bill became law, consumers would pay up to $160 billion in increased clothing prices over the next five years. That averages out to a wonderfully regressive tax of $2,600 per family of four. Hills said the bill's supporters were "trying to pull the wool over the eyes" of the American people.

Sen. Ernest "Fritz" Hollings (D-S.C.), a textile stalwart who nonetheless wears Korean-tailored suits, engaged in blatant wool-pulling in a letter to the *Wall Street Journal*. He argued that "consumers do not benefit from lower-priced imports." For proof, Hollings wrote, "Glance through some mail-order catalogs and you'll see that consumers pay exactly the same price for clothing...U.S. made or imported." Of course, old Fritz didn't ask what the price of the U.S.-made item would be absent its cheaper, imported twin.

Although it had basic economic sense going against it, the textile industry had something more important working in its favor: congressional opposition to GATT. While legislators usually profess to want free trade among all nations, they realize that any GATT agreement would restrict their ability to micromanage trade issues to their political benefit.

Those with steel mills in their backyards, for example, are not keen on any measure that would allow Asian steel makers to compete with American firms. And legislators supported by organized labor would like to ban "low-wage" goods just on principle. But most important is the hostility GATT has drawn from traditionally free-trade agribusiness supporters who worry that the current round of trade talks could lead to a reduction of government subsidies for agriculture.

If any group could be counted on to string together such a diverse coalition it would be the textile lobby. Textile lobbyists are old hands at excluding foreign competition. Currently, bilateral agreements with some 40 countries limit imports so far below the level of demand that illegally evading quotas has become a tempting tactic for importers.

The U.S. Customs Agency estimates that 25 percent of all fraud investigations involve textiles. John Esau, of the agency's Fraud Enforcement Division, recently noted that the combination of strict quotas and tariffs four times the U.S. average can make it "profitable for people to try to circumvent the system."

In August K Mart Corp. paid a $6-million fine for evading quotas on men's, women's, and children's clothing between 1982 and 1986. Predictably, the powerful American Textile Manufacturers Institute trumpeted the case as an example of problems in the control of textile imports. But anyone not getting a paycheck from the industry has to question a policy that encourages clothing to be treated as contraband.

The 1990 bill would tighten these restrictions even further by abrogating the existing bilateral treaties and freezing footwear imports at their current level. Apparel and textile imports, which have been growing between 5 percent and 6 percent a year, could grow only 1 percent a year.

A measure that severe would seem to have little chance on its own merits. But back in July, farm-state senators, including Minority Leader Robert Dole of Kansas, rallied to the textile banner. They were drawn, in part, by a wrinkle added by Sen. Tom Daschle (D-S.D.). The Daschle amendment allows textile-exporting countries to up their quota by importing more U.S. agricultural products. Just how nations with anything other than command economies could arrange such a tit-for-tat swap was a question no one answered. Still, the bill passed by a veto-proof margin of 68-32.

While there has always been some overlap between agriculture and textile

KEN SIEGEL

supporters, seldom has it extended beyond the Southeast's lint belt. Five years ago, in fact, Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.) worked to kill a measure similar to the one put forth by Daschle this year. But this time around, four farm-state senators who voted against the '85 textile bill—David Boren (D-Okla.), Quentin Burdick (D-N.D.), Jim Exon (D-Nebr.), and Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)—found themselves on the winning side.

The switch is not a surprise considering the GATT negotiations have been moving toward the eventual worldwide abolition of agricultural subsidies. Farm-state lawmakers know that developing countries will bolt from the talks if it looks as though Congress will not let their textile products reach U.S. markets. Passing the textile bill could put an end to GATT negotiations before any reductions can be agreed upon.

In the House the measure turned up 250 co-sponsors—a lot even for an election year and enough to worry the administration. However, it had a staunch foe in Rep. Sam Gibbons (D-Fla.), chairman of the Ways and Means Trade Subcommittee, who called the bill "a lousy piece of legislation." Gibbons has long seen the benefits of free trade flow in and out of his district through the port of Tampa. He voted to sustain the veto of the '85 textile bill and helped secure passage of the U.S.–Canada Free Trade Agreement. But Gibbons realized the votes were there to force the bill out of committee and all he would accomplish by sitting on the bill would be to make many fellow Democrats very unhappy.

Instead, Gibbons fought the bill when it came to the floor. It paid off as the bill passed 271-149—nine votes short of the two-thirds needed to override a veto. The surprising margin left opponents of the bill confident they can sustain the veto.

Gibbons notes that evidence that textiles is "a healthy, prosperous industry" drew several lawmakers to oppose the bill. Indeed, Federal Reserve Board figures show that in 1989 textile factories operated at 91 percent capacity, compared to 84 percent for all manufacturers. Since 1985, the industry's capacity utilization has grown twice as fast as other manufacturers. The industry is clearly not on the brink, and consumers would certainly benefit if textile quotas were eliminated.

But usually those in Congress benefit more from rewarding the interests that help get them elected rather than from serving taxpayers at large. That's why many lawmakers have no incentive to see trade barriers fall. GATT negotiations could lead to a global reduction in both trade barriers and agricultural subsidies. The only losers would be those industries sheltered from competition by government policies—and it is these businesses that have the ear of Congress. Accordingly, it would be a great surprise if the textile bill is the last attempt to sabotage GATT.

Jeff Taylor is national political reporter for syndicated columnists Evans & Novak.

IN DEFENSE OF AYN RAND

by

Virginia L. L. Hamel

A 46-page Objectivist's response to *Judgment Day* and "The Passages Cut From Judgment Day" by Nathaniel Branden

plus

Two 12-page responses to Barbara Branden's biography, *The Passion of Ayn Rand*, and Murray Rothbard's monograph, "The Sociology of the Ayn Rand Cult"

In a **booklet of 84 pages**, the author takes on three major attackers of Ayn Rand providing a completely different perspective and new information, while pointing out the distortions, concealment, misinterpretations, and flawed characters of the attackers.

The author gives:

- a synopsis of *Judgment Day* for those who have not read it
- misinterpretations and contradictions in Branden's statements
- relevant facts Branden leaves out
- what the Coroner's report said about Patrecia Branden's death
- the vicious legal battle between the Brandens in 1981
- a different version of Ayn Rand's break with Edith Efron
- Devers Branden's surprise visit to Ayn Rand
- Devers Branden's blocking Ayn Rand from entering her own apartment
- Branden's unethical and illegal recording a last phone call to Rand
- Branden's untrue charges about the Philosophy of Objectivism
- Angry Barbara Branden's new revelations about Nathaniel, and **much more!**

New Beacon Publications · 1909 Beacon Street · Brookline · MA 02146

Please send me _____ copies of "In Defense of Ayn Rand" (the booklet) @ $ 14.00 per copy (foreign orders $ 15.00 in U.S. currency).
Total payment of $ _____ is enclosed to cover the costs.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

OBSCENE DEBATE

BY CHARLES OLIVER

In 1973, after struggling with the issue for almost two decades, the Supreme Court hit on a formulation that seemed to come to grips with the subjective nature of obscenity. In *Miller* v. *California*, the Court ruled that a work is obscene if "the average person, applying contemporary community standards" would find that it appeals to the prurient interest; that it depicts or describes, in a patently offensive way, sexual conduct; and that it lacks "serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value."

Should The 2 Live Crew be banned? A Florida judge said yes. His ruling could set national policy.

Superficially, at least, this scheme seemed to take into account all the arguments for and against regulating obscenity. Valuable works of art, such as *Ulysses* or even *Carnal Knowledge*, would be protected. Tolerant big cities could treat smut leniently, while small towns could ban it entirely. People who had problems with the prevailing standard in their community could move to a place more attuned to their values.

But things haven't worked out that way. Increasingly, small towns and ambitious prosecutors set the standards for the entire nation. In part, the problem is advancing technology. In part, it is incoherent law. And, in large part, it is the intractable conflict between those who would enforce "community" standards by law and those who would defy those standards in their own homes.

All of the contradictions and confusion in U.S. obscenity law were laid bare in February, when Montgomery County, Alabama, District Attorney Jimmy Evans filed obscenity charges against the American Exxxtasy Network, a satellite TV channel that showed unedited adult feature films. Evans, who has a history of prosecuting local adult bookstores, claimed he had taken another step in his long campaign to rid Montgomery of pornography. Some cynics suggested that he had kicked off his campaign for Alabama attorney general with a high-profile prosecution. Certainly the fact that Evans also included GTE and its corporate officers—the Exxxtasy Network was relayed by a GTE satellite—in his indictments seemed to confirm this conclusion.

Whatever his motivations, Evans accomplished both of these goals. GTE withdrew satellite access from both the Exxxtasy Network and its sister channel, the Tuxedo Channel, which showed edited adult films. Within two months, the Exxxtasy Network had shut down its operations. And Evans went on to win the Democratic nomination for attorney general and will likely be elected to that office.

In the Exxxtasy Network case, modern technology has shown that the Supreme Court's attempts to accommodate personal freedom and regulation of obscenity cannot stand close scrutiny. To see why, we have to consider the decisions that set the boundaries for the regulation of obscenity.

In the 1969 case *Stanley* v. *Georgia*, the Court found a right to possess obscene material in one's home. Speaking for the majority, Justice Thurgood Marshall argued that "the right to receive information and ideas, regardless of their social worth, is fundamental to our free society....If the First Amendment means anything, it means that a State has no business telling a man, sitting alone in his own house, what books he may read or what films he may watch."

Marshall's opinion seemed to sabotage earlier Court rulings that obscenity is outside the protection of the First Amendment. But Marshall himself denied that *Stanley* had any effect on those cases, arguing that they dealt with the "commercial distribution of obscene material," not possession. The other members of the Court agreed.

Two years later, *United States* v. *Reidel* upheld a statute prohibiting sending obscene material through the mail. Justice Byron White wrote, "To extrapolate from *Stanley*'s right to have and peruse obscene material in the privacy of his own home a First Amendment right in *Reidel* to sell it to him would effectively scuttle *Roth*....*Roth* has squarely placed obscenity and its distribution outside the reach of the First Amendment and they remain there today. *Stanley* did not overrule *Roth* and we decline to do so now."

The *Roth* to which White referred was the 1957 *Roth* v. *United States* case, in which the Court first ruled that obscenity is not protected by the First Amendment. Writing for the majority, Justice William Brennan argued, "All ideas having even the slightest redeeming social importance—unorthodox ideas, controversial ideas, even ideas hateful to

the prevailing climate of opinion" are protected. But obscenity is "utterly without redeeming social importance."

Obscenity, reasoned Brennan, does not convey ideas. Therefore it is worthless. And because it is worthless, it is not constitutionally protected. But what is obscenity? For the next 16 years, much of the Court's time was spent defining and redefining obscenity.

The problem, as Justice William O. Douglas noted in one of his many dissents, is that "there are as many different definitions of obscenity as there are men; and they are as unique to the individual as his dreams."

Finally, in *Miller*, the Court thought that it had arrived at a perfect solution. But *Miller* is an intellectual mess. Take, for example, the question of value. A work of art has value only to an individual. For example, I like to listen to Merle Haggard; his songs have value to me. But plenty of people intensely dislike country music. Clearly, Haggard has no value to them.

Or take a real legal example: In Florida, Judge Jose A. Gonzalez has declared The 2 Live Crew's *As Nasty as They Wanna Be* obscene, without any serious value, even though millions of record buyers and several prominent music critics did find value in the album. (Gonzalez supported his claim of knowledge of community standards in that case by noting that he had "attended public functions and events" throughout the county.)

The Court didn't establish an objective standard of values; it merely allowed a judge or jury to legally enforce their own subjective value judgments. Indeed, three years ago, Justice Antonin Scalia admitted, "It is quite impossible to come to an objective assessment of (at least) literary or artistic value."

And far from ensuring diversity, the local standards test allows the most restrictive communities to determine what books and movies the rest of us can read and watch.

The movies shown on the Exxxtasy Network were almost certainly not obscene by the community standards of New York City, where the signal originated, or Los Angeles, where most of the movies were probably filmed. But they may well be obscene in Montgomery. And because a grand jury in one Southern city found the movies obscene, 30,000 people across the nation have been deprived of the channel.

And the Exxxtasy Network is not alone. Over the last four years, since the Meese Commission report refueled the antipornography movement, mail-order distributors of erotic material have found themselves indicted far from home in small Bible Belt towns for selling books and videos that do not violate the standards of the community in which the company is headquartered.

In effect, these prosecutions are leading to a national standard of obscenity—one defined by the tastes of the most restrictive areas of the country and by the whims of ambitious prosecutors. If one doubts this, ask the people who subscribed to the Exxxtasy Network. Or ask The 2 Live Crew. After the band's album was declared obscene in Florida, the group found it difficult to attract distributors for a national pay-per-view TV concert. Cable operators may have feared being busted on obscenity charges.

The situation is rendered even more absurd by *Stanley*'s supposed protection of the right to view pornography in the home. After all, the Exxxtasy Network sent out a scrambled signal that could only be seen by people who paid $150 for a six-month subscription and a descrambler. The material went straight from the distributor to the customer—and only to the customer. The customer has a constitutional right to have obscene material in his home. But apparently the Exxxtasy Network has no constitutionally protected right to sell that scrambled signal.

Just after the Exxxtasy Network was indicted, the *Alabama Journal*, Montgomery's daily paper, editorialized that satellite transmission of adult films "is essentially no different from having a pornographic bookstore on the corner." In fact, it is nothing like that at all. For most of us, having a "pornographic bookstore on the corner" raises images of our neighborhood being overrun by perverts in search of illicit sex. And in turn, the perverts being followed by prostitutes, drug dealers, and muggers. But how would the Exxxtasy Network start this chain of events? Would perverts start wandering around trying to peek through windows at the television set?

Of course, this scenario isn't what the *Journal* had in mind with its porno bookstore metaphor. The *Journal* wasn't worried that neighborhoods would be overrun by criminals. It was afraid that more people would start watching adult films. That is the fear of almost all antiporn zealots. And that points to the central flaw in the Court's position on obscenity.

In *Roth*, the Court ruled that even unpopular ideas are protected by the First Amendment, but obscenity isn't protected because it doesn't deal in ideas. Most antiporn activists don't make that argument, however.

Quite the contrary. They argue that porn teaches that promiscuity is good, that women exist only to service men sexually, that hedonism is proper. They want to suppress these ideas. People who like adult films say that the movies have a positive message—that sex is good. Regardless, the fact that people have found ideas, even bad ones, in adult movies undermines the Court's logic. Ideas are protected by the First Amendment.

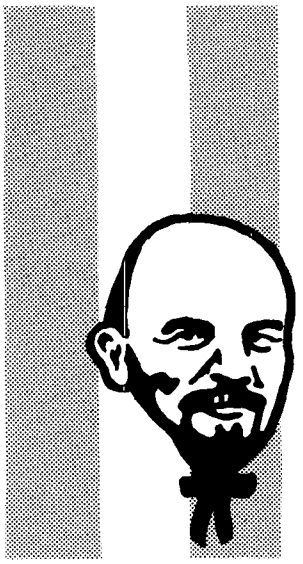
The Exxxtasy Network never had a chance to defend itself in court. But obscenity prosecutions are increasing, and undoubtedly some of these cases will make it to the Supreme Court. Justice Scalia has expressed concerns about *Miller*. Unfortunately, he seems only to want to redefine obscenity yet again. And no sitting justice wants to rethink *Roth*.

But unless the Court declares that obscenity is constitutionally protected, we will continue to have unresolvable arguments over what is and is not obscene. And small-minded prosecutors will continue to try to make a name for themselves by suing big out-of-state corporations.

Charles Oliver is assistant editor of REASON.

IN THE PINK?

BY MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER



The most popular article to appear in a scholarly journal in 1989 was Francis Fukuyama's *National Interest* essay proclaiming that the collapse of communism meant "the end of history." Fukuyama contended that communism's fall meant that the struggle for the world had ended, leaving humanity with nothing to do except produce documentaries and doctoral dissertations about the glorious days of the Cold War.

One year later it's clear that what has ended is not "history," but a period of history. The demolition of the Berlin Wall concluded the Age of Dictators, that 75-year period between World War I and 1989 when the dominant actors on the world stage were monomaniacal statists who promoted rigid ideologies and attempted completely to dominate their subjects' lives.

Most observers have assumed that in their 15-round bout, capitalism has delivered a knockout blow to the communist cause. Indeed, the editors of *Success* are so certain of the triumph of the market that they are urging their readers to book flights to Moscow as soon as possible to rake in the cash. "GET YOUR RED HOT OPPORTUNITIES!" they tell readers of their September issue. "AMAZING! American entrepreneurs in Russia wield the power of czars!"

Success writers Richard Poe and Norman Dolph didn't find any capitalists who dream of being the next Ivan the Terrible or Peter the Great, but they found scores of "entrepreneurial wild men." These include the first American fast-food seller in the Soviet Union, a genius with a Nathan's truck who started selling hot dogs three months before McDonald's opened. They also found a software developer who discovered that Soviet computer programmers feel they are being treated like kings if they earn the ruble equivalent of $200 a month.

Success suggests goods that the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe need. Sell 'em paint! Sell 'em office supplies! Sell 'em...motivational tapes! ("The works of Edward de Bono, Dale Carnegie, Earl Nightingale, and others will find an astonished and grateful audience.") Sell like hell!

It was a typical performance. *Success* has always been more gung-ho about capitalism than any other small-business magazine; this was the publication that once urged its readers to sleep less so they could spend more time crushing their competitors. But although you might wish *Success* would occasionally tone down the volume of its prose, you can't help but be cheered by the enthusiasm with which the magazine's editors and writers clubbed the socialist monolith.

While *Success* was giving its usual six cheers for capitalism, some magazines were doubting the conventional wisdom about the triumph of the marketplace. Indeed, two remarkable articles concluded that socialism, not capitalism, had emerged victorious.

In the August issue of *Harper's Magazine*, conservative historian John Lukacs argues that the last 40 years have not been a struggle between communism and capitalism. What matters in world history is not political systems, he says, but struggles between nation states.

The victor in Central Europe in 1989, Lukacs believes, was not "capitalism," but Germany, which will move into the vacuum resulting from the retreat of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, there is no "contest" between communism and capitalism, because all nations are welfare states. "We are all socialist now, whether we call ourselves that or not," Lukacs writes. "It is only that international socialism is a mirage. The dominant reality is that of a variety of nationalist socialisms."

In the September 10 *New Yorker*, leftist economist Robert Heilbroner compares two prominent economists of the 1930s: Ludwig von Mises, who argued that socialism could not work because planners could never acquire enough information to effectively replace the price mechanism, and Oskar Lange, who argued that planning would be effective as long as bureaucrats kept close watch on warehouse inventories. Lange's arguments swept the day, but "it turns out, of course, that Mises was right"—central planning doesn't work. Yet even though the classical vision of socialism, "a semireligious vision of a transformed humanity," is dead, Heilbroner argues that environmental problems will ensure that all the discredited forms of socialist economics will nonetheless have to be

BOB ECKSTEIN

implemented to save the planet.

Lukacs and Heilbroner are always worth reading. Lukacs is readable because of his depth of knowledge and his independence; he is of the right, but not locked into the thinking of any particular camp. Heilbroner's essay shows once again that some of the best current analysis of America comes from older leftists (Heilbroner, Robert Coles, Eugene Genovese, Christopher Lasch) who realize that the principles of their youth are wrong. We shall see whether they are right this time. But more important are the questions they—and most other writers—are not asking about the Soviet Union and Central Europe.

For it's clear that while most of the leaders of these nations are not yet willing to trade in their hammer-and-sickle pins for Adam Smith ties, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union are moving away from communism toward more capitalistic systems. This process has not been seen since the 1940s, when West Germany moved away from fascism toward somewhat free markets. There have been very few articles on how, or if, de-socialism is working. For example, Gosplan, the Soviet planning agency, employed tens of thousands of workers in the Brezhnev era. By 1994, according to Mikhail Gorbachev's latest pronouncements, planning will be drastically reduced. What will happen to all the planners? Will they all sell apples in Gorky Park?

Journalists and analysts are avoiding stories about the economics of the former Soviet Bloc for several reasons. First is what Nicolai Petro, in the summer issue of *The Wilson Quarterly*, calls the "Copernican" fallacy, the notion that Gorbachev is the Soviet sun, and everything else that happens in that complex and beleaguered country is but a shadow.

Second is the unfortunate domination of political scientists in American academic discussions of world affairs. The time for discussions about Gorbachev's survival or the composition of the Politburo has ended; what is badly needed is for sociologists and economists to tell us if the Russians are willing to work and if the Soviet economy can create useful jobs for them. Third, most journalists don't talk about Soviet economics for the same reason they shy away from economic reporting in general: For most members of the press, economics is homework, and homework is something to be avoided at any cost.

But some journalists are nonetheless writing intelligent articles on the economic problems of ex-communist countries. The most thoughtful economic analysis of any Central European nation is provided by Norman Macrae in the September *Business Month*. Macrae flew to Poland, interviewed market-oriented economists there, and discovered that Solidarity is not doing a very good job of moving Poland toward a capitalistic system.

"Excessive" wage increases are heavily taxed, punishing employers in service industries who want to allow their workers' salaries to rise to market levels. Poland has a trade surplus achieved by high tariff barriers that make most imports uneconomical. And the state still runs crucial organizations as inefficient monopolies. For instance, while much Polish agriculture is private, wheat and dairy farmers must sell their products to state-owned distribution firms.

Macrae's prescription for Poland: Sack thousands of workers in inefficient, high-polluting heavy industries; weed out the managers of Polish plants who acquired their jobs because they were relatives of commissars; and arrange for venture capital to allow small private firms to grow.

For a big-picture analysis of the Soviet economy, the best source is an article by Nicholas Eberstadt and Jonathan Tombes in the July/August *American Enterprise*. The authors summarize papers presented by Soviet economists at an American Enterprise Institute conference. The panelists concluded that most Soviet economic statistics are unreliable, because they simply count production of goods and do not measure whether these products spoil, are sold, or are stolen.

Soviet records of grain production, for example, measure grain before it is dried and sorted to remove chaff and insects, "thus exaggerating the tonnage of usable grain by approximately 11 percent." Between 1971 and 1975, the Soviets claimed to produce 90 million tons of potatoes annually, but "catastrophic" spoilage ensured that 66 million tons—three-quarters of the crop!—never reached the marketplace.

The panelists estimated that Soviet GNP was between 14 percent and 33 percent of America's. Yuri Dikhonov of the Soviet Institute of Economics believes that Soviet GNP in 1985 was one-third of U.S. GNP. Yet in 1912, the last year Russian economic statistics were reliable, the Russian economy was 39 percent to 47 percent as big as the United States'.

So the communist and ex-communist nations of the world, far from "burying" the West, are falling farther and farther behind in the economic race. But are these nations—and the West—doomed to practice a more genteel form of socialism? I think not.

Arguing that we are prisoners of historical forces, that socialism is the West's last meal before civilization dies, is too fatalistic and Spenglerian. Marx and Lenin are dead; the faith they created survives only in reactionary nations whose power rests on the bayonet and the gulag. The world is a better place now that Marxism-Leninism is part of the past.

British scholar Timothy Garton Ash tells the following Soviet joke: Communism shows that you can turn an aquarium into fish soup. But how do you turn fish soup into an aquarium?

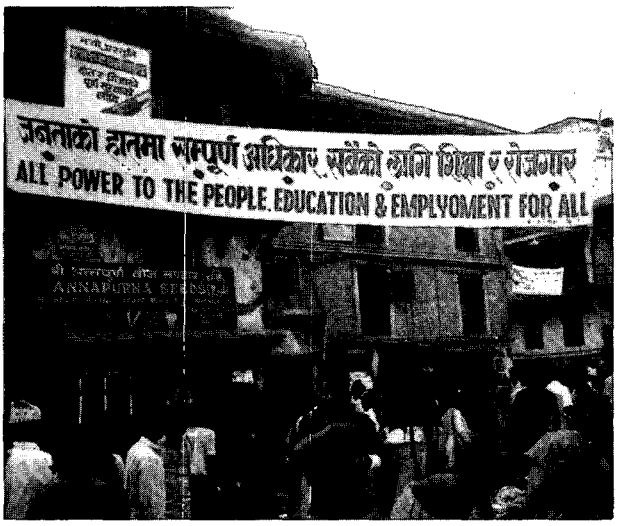
I don't know the answer. But certainly Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Russia deserve to be freed from the intellectual and economic prisons built for these countries as a consequence of two world wars. The freedom of Central and Eastern Europe is the most important development of our time. To say that these nations, having freed themselves from communism, must chain themselves to socialism, is the worst sort of cultural imperialism.

Martin Morse Wooster is the Washington editor of REASON.

COMES A REVOLUTION

BY MICHAEL KONIK

During the last week of June, tens of thousands of Nepalese participated in a national strike to protest the government's alleged murder of a prodemocracy cab driver. Word on the street was that he had been stabbed several times to give the appearance of a robbery attempt. But before anyone could conduct a conclusive investigation, authorities seized the body and, they claimed, disposed of it properly. The government's peremptory interment precluded any possibility of the corpse being paraded through the streets, where it doubtless would be held up as yet another example of martyrdom in Nepal's ongoing struggle for political emancipation.



Banners bearing messages previously deemed inflammatory hang throughout Katmandu's streets.

In Katmandu, the capital of the world's only Hindu kingdom, colleagues of the victim erected roadblocks throughout the city, intending to disrupt what little motor traffic the mostly unpaved roads normally accommodate. "It is almost impossible to get from the airport to my hotel," a driver from the Hotel Mandap told me. He said the only way to get from Tribuhavan International Airport to my lodgings was by a circuitous path that might take four times the normal trip. Sympathetic to the cabbies' complaint, the drivers of rickshaws, public buses, and privately owned cars also refused to carry passengers—mass transit was effectively halted.

Later that afternoon thousands of people clamored outside the royal palace, brandishing signs and banners that championed secularism and political freedom. Though the demonstration was completely peaceful—and not particularly loud—the congregation drew the scrutiny of the authorities, who sent a truckload of armored police, carrying clublike lengths of supple bamboo called *lathis*, into the crowd. Momentarily caught between hundreds of nervous demonstrators, I braced myself for the inevitable stampede of panic-stricken Nepalese accustomed to hastily crushed assemblies. It never came.

The throng became silent and still as the truck, inching along at barely more than an idle, passed through the sea of citizens like a thresher through a cornfield. Randomly administered beatings would not have been particularly surprising. But seeing the people were armed only with hopeful slogans, the police departed without incident.

That the police allowed the demonstration to continue was an enormous symbolic victory. Less than three months earlier, at the very same place, soldiers and police had massacred hundreds of protesters calling for the end of Nepal's stifling autocracy.

On that bloody day—April 6, 1990—the largest crowd in modern Nepalese history, estimated at 400,000, had gathered at Ratna Park, an expansive plaza near Katmandu's business district. Since February, police and demonstrators (mostly students) had clashed repeatedly on a relatively small scale. But on April 6, virtually all of Katmandu, including the city's lawyers, doctors, and other professionals, joined the students in their call for freedom.

The object of their protest was King Birendra, who has ruled Nepal since 1972. The king's father and predecessor on the throne, Mahendra, abolished Nepal's constitution in 1959 and, after a brief flirtation with multiparty elections, banned political parties in 1960. Birendra has institutionalized his father's repressive principles with a single-party national assembly called Panchayat, which in theory is supposed to function like England's Parliament but in practice serves as a feudal court. The king hand-picks 20 percent of Panchayat's members. Local elections determine the rest, but all candidates must meet the king's approval to run.

As the demonstrators surged toward the royal palace—shouting "We want democracy!" and "Birendra is a thief! Lawmakers leave the country!"—a royal army unit abetted by local police assembled at the palace gate. A protester later told me the massive crowd threw stones and tried to topple a statue of King Mahendra. According to the government, the protesters set fire to a federal building. No one, however, disputes what happened next: The soldiers opened fire on the crowd with automatic and semi-automatic rifles.

Government reports originally estimated nine dead and several dozen wounded. Later they revised this to 50 dead and several hundred wounded. Both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, basing their estimates largely on information supplied by Nepalese diplomats, reported 50 to 150 killed, including several foreigners caught in the melee. But virtually every Nepalese I spoke to said that in and around Katmandu Valley on April 6, government authorities murdered 3,000 people, many of whom had not participated directly in

MICHAEL KONIK

the palace protest but were known democracy-movement supporters.

While the exact number of casualties suffered during that calamitous day may never be known, the byproducts of the people's uprising are gratifyingly clear. Since April, King Birendra has dismissed his rubber-stamp Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand, released the imprisoned Ganesh Man Singh, supreme leader of the Nepali Congress Party (Nepal's previously banned dominant opposition party, modeled on India's Congress Party), and opened talks with leaders from the seven-party leftist alliance known as the United Left Front.

Demonstrations such as the one conducted in late June are now common occurrences; banners bearing messages previously deemed "inflammatory" now hang throughout Katmandu's squalid streets; and political debate—passionate, sincere, and sometimes misinformed—fills Nepal's newspapers and government buildings, where the tenets of the people's new constitution are currently being formed by the Constitution Recommendation Commission, consisting of representatives of Nepal's disparate political parties (including Congress, United Left Front, and United National People's Movement) and religious groups (Hindus, Buddhists, Taoists, and Christians).

"Fundamental rights are the essence of any constitution," Prof. Yadu Nath Khanal, a member of the CRC, recently told a conference of Nepalese lawyers. He said the commission was debating several theories of sovereignty: divine rights, popular rights, and contract theory, with the majority in favor of finding a compromise between divine and popular. The British and Japanese constitutions, according to Khanal, are effective models for Nepal's, which "should also include all universally accepted values. We must study international laws and incorporate our own experiences and circumstances."

Wedged between India and China on the southern slopes of the Himalayas, Nepal is a mountainous, geographically isolated country whose lack of roads and trying terrain make it one of the least developed places on earth. The government claims that 18 percent of Nepalese citizens are literate—the actual figure may be even lower. Fundamental shortages in sewage systems, electricity, and health care make Nepal one of the least livable countries in a region that, as a whole, lags far behind the rest of the world.

It is a place where, understandably, the people believe *anything* would be better than current conditions. Perhaps the monumental changes in Eastern Europe (many students I spoke to applauded the revolution in Romania) have finally given the Nepalese people the courage and, more important, the inspiration, they have so long lacked.

Demonstrations are now common. Political debate—passionate, sincere, and sometimes misinformed—fills Nepal's newspapers and government buildings.

Among the most pressing tasks facing the disparate coalition responsible for transforming Nepal from an absolute autocracy into a constitutional monarchy are the dissolution of Panchayat, the release of all political prisoners, the removal of governmental restrictions on press reports, and compensation for those killed or wounded in the prodemocracy clashes. While nearly all involved seem to support these initiatives, *how* the people intend to implement their solutions is not clear.

Frequent pleas for "unity" fill Katmandu's newspapers, implying that solidarity alone will bring satisfaction. Though the average Nepalese does not fully understand the complex political wranglings inherent in fashioning a new constitution, everyone I spoke to was chiefly concerned with diminishing the king's authority and empowering the citizenry.

"We were taught the king should not sit down to eat before every person in Nepal had a full meal," a Katmandu resident named Suni Pardram, who has participated in many prodemocracy rallies, told me. "But he takes everything while we starve."

Even those who call themselves "socialists" or "Marxists" yearn for voting privileges and all the trappings of democracy. A group of students at Tribuhavan University waving a Nepalese flag emblazoned with a hammer and sickle told me they believe in "liberty, voting, and multiple parties," and that they did not recognize an international communist headquarters or "Maoist ideology." Man Mohan Adhikari, general secretary of the Nepal Communist Party, quoted in Nepal's English-language newspaper, *The Rising Nepal*, said: "It is easy to produce radical slogans, but difficult to craft solutions acceptable to all. Thus, democracy is the demand of the day."

With increasing tensions between Nepal's dominant Hindu majority (about 90 percent of the population) and the minority Buddhists, Christians, and Taoists—I witnessed several heated, but nonviolent, shouting matches between Hindus and Buddhists—the immediate gains earned through the tenacious will of an oppressed people seem in jeopardy.

The draft of the new constitution proclaims Nepal a "Hindu Kingdom." But non-Hindus demand separation of church and state. Such discord, though potentially damaging to the CRC's goal of returning power to the people, is to be expected. The country's dissident leadership and intelligentsia are currently like an immense cannon plugged by a meager cork: Their desire for participation in the political process has been forcibly repressed, but it can no longer be contained. If the people can harness the fervent power of their ideals—and if King Birendra continues to act in good faith—in March 1991 the Kingdom of Nepal will have its first legitimate multiparty election of the 20th century.

Journalist and playwright Michael Konik has written about Nepal for the New York Times.

THE TECHNOLOGY OF HYPOCRISY

BY THOMAS W. HAZLETT

Half the world thinks that the United States is being stuffed into the trash compactor of history because Japanese capitalists are investing in American assets, and half thinks that the key to turning South Africa's rulers from monsters to liberals (*assume* a difference) is to cash out all U.S. investments in Johannesburg. Miraculously, it's the *same* half.

That one boisterous set of individuals can be pitifully wrong is no big surprise, nor is the fact that loud self-contradiction may dominate conventional wisdom. As Nietzsche once observed: "What *everyone* believes, is never true." But that people can hold two polar-opposite positions that are both at right angles with Truth—now there is a feat. If veracity does lie between two extremes, to find two extremes which are equally false takes a dedication to precision rare in today's fast-paced consumer society.

Evidently, a great number of our fellow citizens are mining deeply into rich oxymoronic deposits. The Race Police have hit the Mother Lode, of course; it has become virtually impossible in these States to carry on a discussion involving ethnicity without having a vector of patronizing racist generalizations deployed (e.g., "Hispanics want this," "the Eskimos need that," "South African whites deserve what they get") in the campaign to smash "white racism" (which is itself considered, racistly, a redundancy). But various veins of competing hypocrisies stretch for miles.

The First Amendment is now consistently defended by no more than, perhaps, seven U.S. citizens. Even *Spy* magazine considers the evidence appalling: "Some people who supported Robert Mapplethorpe's artistic expression wanted to silence Axl Rose or Andy Rooney or subway beggars; the Florida sheriff who went after the 2 Live Crew album ignores equally foul records by Andrew Dice Clay; and many of the same people who disapprove of symbolic red dye thrown by right-to-lifers approve of symbolic red dye thrown by antifur activists."

But this sort of hypocrisy is mundane in that it is transparently opportunistic and in that it takes time to pull off. One could even claim that one had changed one's world view in the intervening moments. Or just forgotten the old logic. And one could pretty much go on like that for a lifetime, oscillating between metaphysical beliefs according to political payoff. What takes much better focus on the hypocrisy du jour is to actually spin around 180 degrees within the very *same* issue. That takes some head muscle.

Consider, on the disinvestment question: Japanese capital flows "make America dependent on foreigners," while American investments "subsidize South Africa." Good try, but the analytical contradiction crosses different issues that no one ever bothers to connect. Yet did you catch the promenade of Nelson Mandela through the Americas last summer? This political *objet d'art* made a grand tour expressly designed as a quest for continuing, and even beefing up, economic sanctions against South Africa.

Mandela's most talented pronouncement was in response to the very cautiously whispered question regarding ANC support for Messrs. Castro, Kadafi, and Arafat. Mandela strongly asserted that he need not justify strategic alliances to Western audiences; such self-interested bargains necessary in the liberation struggle are *none of our Western business.* (On the way home, while visiting another strategic friend, Kenyan dictator Daniel arap Moi, Mandela waxed philosophical: "What right has the West, what right have the whites anywhere to teach us about democracy...?" at the very instant that his host was rounding up democratic agitators beyond the palace gates.) While lobbying for U.S. sanctions against a foreign power, he snaps at any suggestion that the political realities within that sovereign nation should even be a question for discussion among those of us too far away to understand the first thing about them. And the irony goes undetected! Now that's rich.

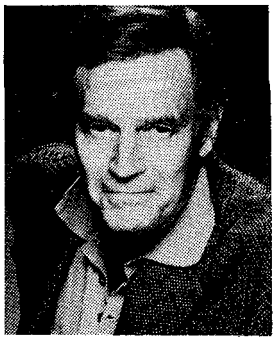
But patriotic juices may yet flow, because the U.S. State Department performed the self-contained hypocrisy just as flawlessly as had Mandela. (And from the opposite perspective, demonstrating that the whole family can play this game.) Prior to Mr. Mandela's visit, the department's spokesperson allowed as how the current U.S. sanctions against South Africa were excellent public policy, but if Nelson had strong views about where George Bush ought to go from here, he should be careful not to lecture the president about it, because we Americans don't take kindly to *outside interference in our domestic policymaking.* Rewind: While crafting foreign policy to punish another nation's domestic policy, *we* will not stand for any meddling from foreigners.

What took Mandela an entire paragraph (and two or three continents, really) to turn into a *reductio ad absurdum* was turned into a sparkling self-parody by the U.S. Department of State in *one single sentence.* Call me a super-patriot, but I say America's information factories can pour out this product. So let's entice the Japanese to invest megabillions in this hypocritical absurdity technology and so weaken the U.S. economy that no American investor will have the wherewithal to float the Afrikaners a dime, thus striking a death blow to apartheid. I might inquire why Mandela didn't think of that to begin with—but it's really *none of my Western business.*

Contributing Editor Thomas W. Hazlett teaches economics and public policy at the University of California, Davis. This year he is a visiting scholar at Columbia University.

INTRODUCTORY $1.00 OFFER

The World's Great Philosophers *Talk To You*



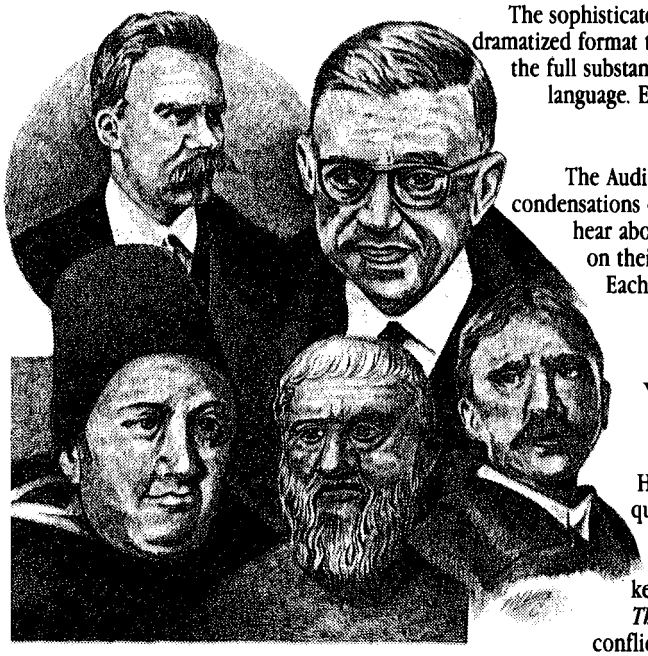
Charlton Heston Narrates *The Giants of Philosophy*

$1.00 Trial Offer

Every 4 weeks you'll receive almost 3 hours of enlightenment and entertainment. You can receive the first selection, *Plato,* at the special price of $1.00 plus $2.00 shipping and handling — a savings of $13.95. All selections are guaranteed, and you have the right to return the current album, for any reason, within 15 days. Try the Audio Classics to stimulate your mind, broaden your horizons, and enrich your life.

"Moderation in all things."
"I think, therefore I am."
"The unexamined life is not worth living."
"And it is this that everyone understands to be God."

In *The Giants of Philosophy,* you'll survey 13 of the world's greatest philosophers (plus others who worked with or against them). You'll see how each philosopher created a complete and coherent system of thought, including their views on ethics, metaphysics, politics and esthetics. You'll learn about their epistemology — how we know what we know. And you'll learn how each thinker related to his times and to the work of other philosophers over the centuries.



The sophisticated, complex and subtle ideas of great philosophers are now available in a dramatized format that entertains and informs. Yet like all Knowledge Products productions, the full substance and content of these ideas are presented in clear and understandable language. Each presentation invites the intelligent listener to ponder the great ideas without struggling through an academic or simplified writing style.

DRAMATIZED PRESENTATIONS

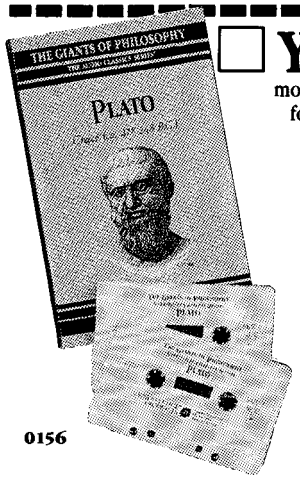
The Audio Classics are not simply readings of great books — they are dramatized condensations of philosophy, politics, economics, war, and other timeless topics. You'll hear about the lives of classic authors and great historical leaders, the influences on their work, the criticisms and praises of observers, and much more.

Each presentation combines the skill and imagination of talented actors with the narration of leading American journalists like ***Charlton Heston, Walter Cronkite, Louis Rukeyser*** and ***George C. Scott.*** The Audio Classics Series™ is an efficient, enjoyable way to acquire knowledge. You can listen to these cassettes again and again with fresh insights and renewed enjoyment each time!

THE AUDIO CLASSICS SERIES™

Hear *The Giants of Philosophy* pursue answers to life's most provocative questions. From later cassettes in the Audio Classics Series, you'll discover the insights of *The Giants of Political Thought,* relive the creation and adoption of *The U.S. Constitution* (narrated by Walter Cronkite), more keenly understand economic progress and conflict in *The Great Economic Thinkers* (narrated by Louis Rukeyser), and explore the roots of crisis and conflict in *The United States at War* (narrated by George C. Scott). Every tape in the Audio Classics Series recreates a fragment of history, brimming with the importance of our past, present and future.

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-876-4332 EXT. 156
TO START YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TODAY!



☐ **YES!** **Send me**, for $1.00 plus $2.00 shipping and handling, *Plato,* and begin my no-risk subscription to the Audio Classics Listening Library. I will receive an album of two cassettes every month, and you'll charge my credit card $14.95 plus $2 shipping and handling ($4 outside the U.S.) for each album. If I'm ever displeased, I have the right to return the current album within 15 days and owe nothing. I may drop out of the program at any time without penalty.

Introductory Offer $1.00

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

☐ Charge my credit card.

☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa ☐ American Express

EXPIRATION DATE

ACCOUNT NUMBER

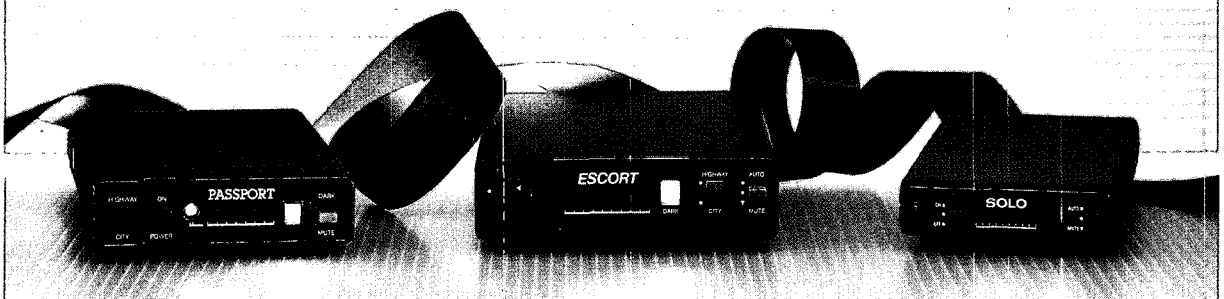
SIGNATURE

0156

KNOWLEDGE® PRODUCTS

Customer Service Center • Box 305151 • Nashville, TN 37230

PASSPORT	ESCORT	SOLO
Now save $100 on PASSPORT, winner of five major comparison tests.	*New ESCORT uses DSP technology for incredible warning distance.*	*SOLO is the only radar detector that never needs a power cord.*



"A terrific radar detector"	"Nothing else even comes close"	"We fell in love at first beep"
Car and Driver	*BMW Roundel*	*AutoWeek*

Overwhelm your favorite driver with the world's best radar detectors

Give The Very Best

Remember those few times when you came up with the perfect gift? The recipient was so overwhelmed he kept asking how you knew...

That's the effect our radar detectors have on drivers, because drivers know what the experts say about radar detectors.

Car and Driver called us the "class act" in radar detection. And *Road & Track* has rated us "the leader in detector technology."

We've been overwhelming drivers for over 12 years. For the driver on your list, no other gift is as sure to please.

The Exclusive Source

We designed ESCORT, SOLO, and PASSPORT, we make them in our factory in Cincinnati, and we only sell directly to you. Not through stores.

Our direct connection to you assures fast response on orders, on questions, and on repairs. We take care of everything.

And by dealing with our knowledgeable staff, you're assured of making the right choice. They'll help you select the radar detector that will be best for your favorite driver.

The exclusive source: our headquarters in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Incredibly Easy Shopping

Just call toll-free (1-800-543-1608). You'll avoid traffic jams, parking hassles, pushy crowds, and unbearably long lines.

Call toll-free
1-800-543-1608

Instead you'll find a friendly radar expert who can answer any questions you may have. Just pick up the phone. We're here 24 hours a day.

Order before 6:00 PM eastern time Monday through Friday and we'll ship your package the same day. A gift box is available at no charge.

You Can Have It Tomorrow

We know that sometimes the holidays can sneak up, and waiting even a few days for the UPS truck is waiting too long. But we've got the perfect solution.

Through a special arrangement with Federal Express we can offer their overnight delivery for only $14.50. Just call us anytime before 8:00 PM and your package will arrive the next day (except Sundays). If you're a last-minute shopper, you've come to the right place.

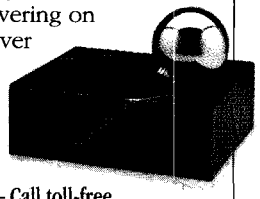
Overnight delivery by Federal Express is only $14.50.

Satisfaction Guaranteed

Here's the best part of all: your gift is guaranteed to please. Quite simply, if for any reason you're not totally satisfied within the first 30 days, just return your purchase.

We'll immediately refund all your money and all your return shipping costs. There are no hidden charges. You are also covered by a full one year limited warranty.

We've been delivering on these promises for over ten years. Call now and see how easy gift-giving can be.



Order today — Call toll-free

1-800-543-1608

Call 24 hours, 7 days a week
Major Credit Cards Accepted

SOLO® *Self-Powered Radar Receiver*
$345

ESCORT® *The Performance Leader*
$295

PASSPORT® *Over One Million Sold*
$195

Ohio residents add 5.5% tax. Prices higher in Canada.
Standard shipping and handling is $4.50
or overnight delivery is available for $14.50.

Cincinnati Microwave
▶ Department 6013D0
One Microwave Plaza
Cincinnati, Ohio 45249

© 1990 CMI